









To
George Moore Esq.
British Consul General
for the Pontifical States
from the
Author
Leiden Jan. 10th
1853.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE HOLY, MILITARY, SOVEREIGN ORDER
OF
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

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OF
THE HOLY, MILITARY, SOVEREIGN ORDER
OF
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM;
OR,
KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, KNIGHTS TEMPLARS,
KNIGHTS OF RHODES, KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

By JOHN TAAFFE
KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE ORDER, AND AUTHOR OF
"ADELAIS."

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HOPE & CO., 16, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1852.

LONDON: HOPE AND CO., PRINTERS,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

It is requested that before reading these Volumes, the Errata be neatly corrected.

ERRATA, VOL. I.

Page.

150, Note 3, for XLIII, read XLIV.

ib., Note 4, for XLII, read XLIII.

190, line 15, for 119, read 183.

216, Note 1, for XIV, cap. XVI, read XXIII, cap III, and XXV,
cap. X.

218, Note 2, for XXXVII, read XXXVI.

219, Note 4, for VI, read VIII.

323, Note 2, for XXIV, read XXXIV.

338, Note 1, after Tyronem, dele the stop.



THE HISTORY
OF THE ORDER OF
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

BOOK I.
CHAPTER I.

THE order of St. John of Jerusalem was created in 1099. That I undertake its history is neither quite my choice, nor quite superfluous; for it is a subject on which I *ought* to be well informed; and many discoveries have been made since its other historians in any language. Those early times were confused. In battles, retreats, conflagrations, papers and parchments were soon lost or burned. So to make up for them, writers employed their imaginations, with a sort of foundation in the chronicler William of Tyre, who was no contemporary of what he relates, but was himself one of those fabulists, and either from not knowing, or not

wishing to know the real state of the case, was misinformed and misinformed others. But of late several of those long-lost documents (or original duplicates) found in the Vatican and other dusty archives show things in a totally different light; and enable a modern to reveal many secrets and render clear what before had been so obscure that it appeared a kind of neutral ground where everybody might fearlessly erect their castles. But are there not too many books already? Yes, with exceptions; and this is one, for it makes what is remote, new; not by any process of fancy, but by relating the plain facts. This removes one considerable difficulty; for otherwise I should not like to be involved in clouds at such a distance behind. Not for the sake of what may be rancid; but truth—sacred truth which is of all times, and the best at all times.

Yet, as vantage ground, it is requisite to take a view of our part of the globe in ages immediately preceding those to be soon treated of; and, to do so intelligibly, it will be convenient to consider the public condition somewhat earlier also, in a few of the principal countries as a fair sample of the remainder; it appearing to me hard, in any other way, to account for the universal ferment which had kept on increasing little by little—a feeling of

disquietude preparing Christendom for some great change, it knew not what, nor perhaps cared; but everywhere was it held certain that some important event, some radical cure was coming. Therefore these two first chapters shall be confined to such preliminary matters—not to alter, but to refresh readers' minds; nor will notes be necessary, as repeating what is general; but very different forwards, beginning with the third chapter, where my authorities for each iota shall be distinctly cited, to be occasionally consulted or not.

And first, concerning that noble and high-minded nation who usually take the lead wherever there is anything of great or good to be undertaken. As far back as Charlemagne, he wept at observing some Norman vessels off the French coasts; for he foresaw what ruin they would one day bring on France. Danes or Normans are either precisely a single people; or, at most, varieties of one race in different places or periods; since some of that same fleet putting into an English harbour, were there called *Danes*.

At one time we are told of a Danish pirate who, conducting his armada up the Seine, and plundering both its banks, took Paris for awhile and sacked it; and of another who, after being repulsed from England by Alfred, assailed France, and

settled a Danish colony as masters of the city and territory of Chartres—thus consenting to become vassals of the French king; but, notwithstanding, several parties of marauders kept continually harassing the sea-side, to the perpetual terror, and often serious injury, of the inhabitants; and certainly those sea kings had for many years been in the habit of devastating that fertile region of the Continent, before they established themselves there in 900, and changed the name of the province (which until then had preserved its ancient Roman one, Neustria) into Normandy; that is, land of the Northmen or Normans. Indeed, they had likewise turned Christians—retaining, however, much of the contempt of danger and death, and a relish for travels, and that generosity of freedom of their old faith in Odin; which sentiments, and romantic, perhaps virtuous, love, as well as religion, led them to pilgrimages to Palestine; and they nearly all went by Magna Grecia, and had astonishing adventures.

Forty of them landing at Salerno or Amalfi, on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, repulsed the Saracen freebooters, to the delight of the natives, who invited their allies to stay, or return with others of their countrymen; and that they might be sure of grateful hospitality;

and so they did, and formed a sort of military republic. Some years later the hardy veterans, religious but inaccessible to scruples, overthrew a large Papal army—or rather multitudinous rabble with the Pope at its head; but victors, they unhelmed and knelt down to the Pope himself on the same field, and craved his forgiveness and blessing; which, with or against his will, he gave, and erected whatever they had conquered, or should conquer in those parts, into a feudal patrimony under the protection of St. Peter. Thus constituting himself feudal lord over lands to which he had no right whatever; and gaining more by having lost, than he could have by having won a battle. Another Norman gentleman, who had twelve sons, sent them to seek their fortune in a like manner; and most of them rose to royal rank. The youngest, whose sole patrimony was one horse, worked up to be king of that rich island, which had been the granary of imperial Rome. What if he and his young bride had once travelled straddle legs on the same horse? He had no other. But the day was at hand when he was to be a potent and wealthy monarch; where he and queen might (so they liked) sit on their throne, as quietly as Sir John taking his ease in his inn. And when he wore a crown, he gave his historian special directions to

insert the circumstance of one horse in his annals.

The lapse of ages was to find what were styled the Gallican liberties concentrated in the King of France; but now in the tenth century, where were they to be concentrated? There was no King of France, but only nominally; rather an exceedingly loose federalism. It was only mere justice to the Popes to avow that it was oftener by assent than assumption that their undue power grew. If they occasionally arrogated, they more frequently did not refuse the wide jurisdiction offered them. That Christian mercy had possibly been their motive, may be believed; and if some wily Pontiffs took advantage of it, what is there implied of peculiar badness? A foreign mediator in those times of ruthless tyranny, might have been a necessary evil. The union of temporal and spiritual in the state can hardly co-exist, except at the very highest point of civilisation—where no country tarries long. But before and after? Alas! She that is conversant with what is divine, and whose aspirations are after a far better world than this, must then assume naturally the influence which stronger minds exercise over feebler; and, when implored, lends her limping sister a helping hand along their weary way through this vale of tears. With France that

unhappy infancy is supposed to comprehend the entire space from Charlemagne's death to that of Philip Augustus—or a still immenser stretch.

But the worst of that whole shocking period is precisely what we have now reached, the eleventh century. The list of the woes and grievances of the French is much too long to recite. The oppression of the people by the barons, that of these by the unworthy portion of the clergy, and of all three by the kings when they had an opportunity—all classes were deeply dissatisfied, and ripe for any extravagance. Gothic or feudal, both systems were unjust and odious. *Miles justitiæ* (*miles* meaning then, not so much soldier as knight), *Knight of Justice* was more illustrious than any rank or birth. But none but nobles could be knighted.

By an ancient law in France, no one could be imprisoned for debt, and it was lawful to rescue the debtor from any officer who had arrested him. So, how was it possible for a common person to get paid by a nobleman? Only the nobles could fish or fowl. Hunting and hawking were Norman pursuits during peace; in fact, through all France they were the chief occupations of gentlemen, and a knight rarely left his house, either on horseback or afoot without a falcon on his fist, and a grey-

hound following him. But such diversions were exclusively for the nobles. There was little or no trade, nor could the people, even the few who had scraped together a little cash through some chance, increase it by lending, though interest on money was at forty or sixty per cent., for usury was adjudged exclusively to the Jews, or Lombards. No glazed windows, no books, no paintings in even the houses of gentlemen; for although the abbey of St. Denis had windows, both glazed and painted, much earlier, yet glass is said not to have been employed in the best French mansions before the fourteenth century. So it may well be imagined that the cottages were wretched, and undoubtedly no domestic architecture in France was better than in England, where it was execrably bad. And I lay stress upon it the rather, that I am quite of their opinion who hold, that architecture, more than any other of the fine arts, characterises its age.

A grievous misfortune to the French was the feudal army. Better, when soldiers were hired; but these mercenary *solidary* were later; at least the first instance I find in Hallam is in 1030, and then it was a small corps. That St. Germain had the pointed arch in 1014, only shows that pilgrims were frequent from France to Palestine even then;

by one of whom it was probably brought by a rare exception. When that style became general an age or two later, whether it came through Spain or Italy, or round by the German woods, resembling the intersection of the top branches of trees in a Druidic avenue, or if it originated in the East at all, or in what part of it, are questions that remain as undetermined as ever. Why further painful details? The sense of severe depression is apparent. The humane spirit of Christianity, the religion of love and kindness, had indeed struggled long with the manners and maxims of the world; and as far back as the thick night of the sixth century, St. Gregory had told them that nature had made all men free; and that the yoke of servitude, introduced by what was called the law of nations, was utterly repugnant to the law of Christ.

But what the poor peasant beheld was in awful contradiction to such consoling doctrines; that breathed of pure republican liberty, or St. Simonism of the eighteenth century, or even Socialism, without the dangerous, sanguinary, most illogical consequences drawn from it by insanity, ignorance, or wickedness. A vague tradition—if it existed—of some past legislation, only increased discontent. So what conclude, but that the sole resource was to turn to the priest, and follow his advice blindly?

Driven from his hovel, despised and ill-treated by his landlord, and exposed to numberless distresses, between slavery, anarchy, and famine, what was left for the cultivator of the soil, but to indulge in the expectation of some great change at hand—ready at the crisis to take any direction his clergy prescribed. Classes which had any intimacy with those handsome domineering Normans, could not but have imbibed something of their gay independent spirit, and enthusiasm both in religion and love, and their uncontrollable desire of roving—they being the greatest pilgrims of their time; one of whom was the Count de Verdun, of the illustrious family that was soon to produce Godfrey de Bouillon. To consort with them was to get restless, particularly in private hardships—and what family then but had its private hardships? Uncertainty brooding everywhere, and gradually falling into permanent forlornness and the loss of any attachment to their homes; as eager to shift them as the Nomade Arabs, who carry their pots and pans about with them, and children and tents, and whatever they possess, and a furious contempt for stone walls. Thus all the French lay on their oars.

Doubtful as may be the origin of those enterprising parties that got together in Scandinavia, yet coming thence to Germany, ancient or modern

—before or since Tacitus — they deserve to be called Northmen; just as much on the Elbe or Rhine, as on the Seine or Thames. They were a fated and dangerous race; yet carried a sort of compensation with them—the seeds of freedom. And leaping over several centuries, the landwehr, or insurrection, brings us to the times of Charlemagne; for not only in deed, but name, too, that Militia dates so far back. Yet, if it be true that the Irish missionary sent to convert those of Wurzburg, was murdered there in the eighth century, is it not surprising that the capital of Franconia, whence so many emperors derived, should be so late of conversion? learned antiquaries informing us that also the French were from Franconia; as its very name implies, land of the French!

But neither Militia nor Christianity seem to have remedied the reigning evils much; for open robbery was more in vogue in Germany than anywhere else, since the strongholds of those they called nobles spread terror over the whole country; they making it a practice not only to plunder the travellers they seized, but likewise to sell them into slavery, when promised no sufficient ransom. Bondage within their own castles, or to somewhere in the vicinity, was their sale at first; but when there came to be Saracens, they were sold to the

Saracens — traffic of which Venice set the example. Even at a much later period the German nobles were mostly robbers; the burghers of the town no better, for they used to give the liberties of them to every stranger that offered, without the least discrimination, vagabonds for the greater part, who terrified the honest, by committing every kind of crime with perfect impunity; so that between pillage and piracy, both by sea and land, it is a wonder that in Germany any had the courage to become merchants at all. The sacred appetite for gold must have been very cogent. In Saxony, Poland, and Lithuania, the remains of Paganism were trod out with a savage eagerness to compensate for lingering rather late.

As to the Jews, they were fair game throughout the entire of Christendom; the unfortunates had to endure sackage, gross insults, and murder in every land. It was a question of more or less atrocity and injustice the vilest; but of justice or mercy never. Shame on the nefarious abusers of the religion of peace and charity! After the fowler, and the Saxon Othos, and Franconian Henries, although the surnames of Guelph and Ghibelline had not been as yet invented; nevertheless the wicked enormity itself was—the sanguinary rivalry between the dynasties of southern and

northern Germany—feud that degenerated to that degree that it embraced nearly every individual, and added new distractions to the whole region from Swabia to beyond the Vistula and Alps, and down the Adriatic. Still these amazing outrages bore with them the promise of healing, and seemed too violent to last long. And in proportion as nations became fervent Christians, they looked eastwards.

Hope was in the East, and the world desirous of hope. Many devout or repentant Germans; tired of such turbulent scenes, set out to make what they perhaps did not know St. Jerome and St. Austin had made several centuries earlier—a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Founder of their Divine creed; and though some of those scolloped travellers had died on the road to or at Jerusalem, and some of them on their way back, yet some of them also returned home, and lived to enliven it with spirit-stirring stories of adventure or holy unction. One of those pilgrims, who never reached Palestine, but died in Asia Minor, had been the very first sovereign in Europe who made a law against fiefs being given to the clergy without their lay superior's permission; so that it is not quite just to suppose all the religious palmers were foolishly servile to the monks or priests. Knights were

then called *brothers*, *fratres*, and their guests *Christ's poor*, or the *poor*, without any consideration of their poverty or wealth; for it was the name given to the most opulent and even royal or imperial personages. And I observe it, lest any one hunting out my authorities, should be misled by finding the emperor I allude to amongst *Christ's poor*, and with *fra* before his name, not as the first syllable of *frate*, friar, but knight. All liberty came from the north (according to Sismondi) in its oral descent from their most remote ancestors, and was carried by who bore the misnomer of barbarians, over the whole of Europe, where that beneficent principle was gradually extinguished, with one single exception; but if not soonest, most fiercely in Germany, through reiterated persecutions. Conversion to Christianity only heightened the warmth of that ancestral dogma by giving it a celestial foundation.

The doctrine of Christ was sympathetic with the free. The currents of liberty flowed into it readily, rejoicing towards the immortal ocean. So love was added to liberty, and the rude converts proclaimed both divine; comprehensive, indefinite, intuitive, undying, incalculable, superhuman. Love is liberty and liberty is love, may appear a lax redundancy, and even ridiculous jargon to many

minds; but to others it will associate with something dear, as a struggle to express what cannot be expressed by mortal, or scarcely; that sacred, forbidden and undiscovered word, which may possibly be felt, but if it could be pronounced would enamour, or peradventure instantly destroy, the whole creation.

This German-like anticipation of future grandeur (within the limits of our present world) is curiously exemplified by an individual of the Imperial race, who, though himself generally a vagrant, and never safe even in his bed, yet was so persuaded of the high destinies of his family, that he always wrote in his books the famous Austrian device, A E I O U, initials of *Austriæ est imperare Orbi Universo*. This somewhat wild state of the imagination, productive of a voluntary death for freedom or religion, is not without an analogy to that ascetic exaltation which has spirited away myriads to the wilderness; for whom fanatics were too harsh a name. Heavens preserve us! Any how such were not idly standing with their arms a-kimbo; but in deep thought, preparatory to something out of the common run.

But the land of the free—or of humbug, pretension, and clatter, as some have presumed to call her—land of amazing contrasts and contradictions, fair and noble England, neither was she an

exception. Also she had her freedom from the north. Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Normans, all such new-comers were clearly varieties of one stock. The Anglo-Saxons appear to have had very mild laws, if mildness be few or no capital punishments. The native aboriginal Britons, who had become Christians long before in the night of ages, had been all extinguished, or driven away, or reduced to slavery; but those who replaced them followed the European stream, and assumed the profession of Christianity as soon as they fixed their residence in Southern Europe. Though Alfred had saved the Anglo-Saxons, he never rooted out the Danes, a name peculiar to England for those earlier Normans; but in France and every other country they are all called Normans. So both members of the Hephtharchy thought it best to recur to their common origin, and quietly unite, which was an easy fusion, and a Dane shortly became king, and had a regular standing army, as preferable for discipline and separation from the people. The pay was in all such cases enormous, incredibly beyond what is paid at present. What we should call Colonels got ninety-six shillings a-day, and common troopers fourteen shillings, and a foot soldier one shilling and fourpence. To be sure they had to furnish themselves with arms, equipments, and horses; the cavalry at

which instance of Canute is, I believe, the earliest known of hired soldiery in England. Sometimes a lance signified six men, sometimes three; so it is hard to specify their numbers. Lances were long and heavy; horses big, and of a cart-like breed. Banner, coat of arms, and war-cry were common to all knights; in some of which particulars, if it be rather too soon to ascribe them to Canute, this is above controversy, that it is an error to imagine that coats of arms were not in use before the first crusade.

Inside the towns, though civilisation might have existed in some degree, yet we owe agriculture entirely to the monks; with the exception of their secluded spots, which they had received a wilderness, and reclaimed, all the rest of the land lay, from the fifth to the eleventh century, in barbarous disorder. Small or no encouragement, whole domains waste, until some monastery got a grant of them, the only chance after the ravage of a marauder; for thus they got under the protection of the Church, not always, but generally valid. Doomsday Book is more than a proof of what had preceded it, and in what lamentable plight it found the shires.

Still, how easily the lower classes are contented, is conspicuous from their often calling for the laws

of Edward the Confessor in subsequent times. When discontent alarms the husbandman, we must look to some awful catastrophe. Reach that sturdy order, and some violent change is infallibly at hand! Individuals of any wealth put off the evil day in their case by frequent pilgrimages; and even one to Jerusalem was no considerable undertaking, as long as the Abassides reigned. Pilgrimages are said to have been what may be termed a fashionable recreation then, and even up to the ninth or tenth century, pilgrims were received well everywhere; for they without fail brought each a letter from his prince or bishop, pilgrims being then to the Christians, what Haggies are this day to the Mahometans, privileged persons. Some danger or distress made them only the more revered. It is well known that the Mahometans respect pilgrims still more than the Christians do, and the natural consequence was tolerance in all things, even towards those of a different creed; pious makers of a hazardous pilgrimage from the distant West. The gates of the city of God were often opened to let in two parties nearly equal; one, disciples of the Koran, directed to Omar's mosque, the other, Christians for the Holy Sepulchre. Hitherto the Mussulmen had committed no atrocities, in what was a seat of holiness to them

also; as the site of the Temple, the dwellings of David and Solomon, the Almighty's chosen place, illustrious for prophets, saints, and miracles. Therefore it was that Omar left them a sort of religious liberty, though the Christians had to hide their crosses, ring no more bells, nor retain any exterior sign of being dominant; but allow of building that extensive mosque, that in some sort stands still where the Temple once stood. The Christians could not be pleased; but Omar's moderation mitigated the fanaticism of his co-religionists.

After his death, his children imitated him; nor is it improbable the caliph might have thought it politic to keep on good terms with the western emperors, and thus prevent the Franks from siding with Constantinople against him. So Bagdad became the peaceful resort of the arts and sciences, and held that the progress of reason showed the elect of God. The manners of the chiefs of Islam becoming gentler from that enlightening of their minds, and Haroun el Rascid, and caliphs of his noble stamp, were finally rendered far more tolerant than Omar himself. Jerusalem enjoyed quiet, while Rome was plundered by the Saracens, at which period it is on record that the capital of Palestine could vaunt of twelve hostelries, and as many libraries belonging to the Latin *hospitium*

within it; and Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalphi, sent their merchandise regularly to that mart.

But such a happy state ceased with the hauling down of the black flag of the Abassides; and a failure of the Greeks to resist the Fatimites only brought persecution on the Palestine Christians. Under the triumphant Fatimite caliphs, Christian blood flowed in torrents. All Christians began to be looked on as enemies to all Moslems. Mahometan fanaticism had its swing. The Holy Sepulchre pulled down, churches, if not saved by being turned into mosques, degraded, many of them into stables; Christians of every description expelled from Jerusalem, were left to wander about wild; the story on which Tasso founded his *Olinda* is said to have occurred then.

By little and little the Greek Christians, as subjects, were permitted to return, not so the Latins; who were nevermore allowed to have permanent quarters there. But thirty-seven years after the demolishing of the Holy Sepulchre, it rose again under the Caliph Daber in 1044, at the expense of the Greek Emperor, by leave from the Moslems, that they might profit by a toll which they set on pilgrims. No dwelling there for the Latins, except the few days required by pilgrims; who, as such, flocked thither and paid well.

Henceforward pilgrimage was attended with some real danger and considerable cost. A service of risk and insult rather than certain death; disguise often necessary, and contumely and privations always sure. Remarkable courage or very warm devotion cannot but be predicated of a lady who under those circumstances visited Jerusalem; but what will not a new convert? She had come from Sweden, then still in idolatry, into England, where she got converted; and thence set out for the Holy Sepulchre.

It was about the date of Alfred's birth. A few years later (868) the Anglo-Saxons (who in the worst cases preferred a durable punishment, such as mutilation, death too instantaneous to be a salutary example) having condemned in their way an execrable murderer of his uncle, the convict escaped from his native place in Essex across the sea into Brittany, where he repeated the same atrocity on his own brother, and there (with notable courtesy to a foreigner) was simply doomed to undergo his former sentence; as well he as his servants, who had been his accomplices in both crimes; to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, frequently kneeling, and always with a mark on his forehead, and in irons and enduring various other severities, and what must have been dreadful indignities to a Baron

unarmed and defenceless master and underlings; so that their surviving to return was highly problematical. Yet return he did. Was it not a better sermon than hanging, or solitary confinement, or transportation when he came back a changed man, on the best evidence, those who knew him intimately afterwards during a prolonged old age, and who declare he died regretted as a holy person? Not that it would be the proper legislation now, or perhaps at any time; but only that in his instance it succeeded. Neither should I like averring that Frotmond's case is no lesson.

But what were Fatimites to their merciless successors, who it is said hesitated awhile between Christianity and Mahometanism, but decided for the Koran at last? Reckless savages by whom customs, treaties, lucre, were unregarded. It became hard for even the richest pilgrim to purchase an entry into the Holy Sepulchre. Still neither difficulties nor dangers put a stop to pilgrimages; but rather these went on increasing, as those increased. Perhaps the whole truth was not yet quite known to Europe.

Among the pilgrims of the beginning of the eleventh century, was the Count of Anjou. A bunch of broom the device of his family, *Plant the Broom* became its war-cry; just as with the Vene-

tians *Plant the Lion*, St. Mark's winged lion. Not then noun, but verb, not *de* genet, but *le* genet. To the same epoch is affixed the pilgrimage of Robert Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror's father. Some narrate it was to this Robert the school of Salerno directed their verses; if so, he was called king as father to a king. *Francorum* meaning of the Franks suits any Latin. Indeed we have the high authority of Gibbon for the word *French* not being given to any people during the second and third crusades by either Greeks or Orientals, and the Salernitans of that time were wholly or in great part Greeks. *Frank* then meant what it does to-day, any nation of Western Europe. The chiefs being always a little less uncivilised than their soldiery, it does not surprise, that even then we read of a Mahometan governor saying to those who proposed stopping a group of pilgrims, "I have often seen such, and they only follow a vow to their idol; let them go, they are very harmless!" And when in 1064 a body of seven thousand pilgrims, after traversing safely the whole of Asia Minor and Syria, was attacked by Bedouin robbers near Jerusalem, they owe to the Turkish governor that they were not cut to pieces, but got unhurt within the gates. That sordid Bascia might have thought

the toll of so great a number not to be despised; so he sent the rescue.

Let people say what they will, yet was England in a very confused condition in those good old Anglo-Saxon and Danish times. Canute was succeeded, not by his legitimate, but illegitimate son. Even the return into the Anglo-Saxon line, on the earliest opportunity that offered, was somewhat irregular; and if pestilence and famine were characteristic of even Edward the Confessor's virtuous and holy reign, what could be worse after the Conquest? Is it not said William's domination was from the first, devastating carnage; its progress, a regular system of confiscation and oppression—its close, *famine and pestilence*? Probably this climax of evils was true of both epochs, of the comparatively good and bad; for they are the necessary consequences of bad agriculture—though in other respects the government may have been more or less abominable; since the bad agriculture lasted many ages, and did not improve much before the Tudors. Had Harold any real right to the English throne, he might have called out the Anglo-Saxon militia, or *trinoda necessitas*—the German *landwehr*; but he did not dare to do so, conscious of his having no title whatever; which is a cogent argument of his not being what he pre-

tended, the choice of the people; so can any one say that. Ferocious William said it, too, at his coronation, pleading, vain-gloriously, that he had been chosen by the people of all England, and promising Edward the Confessor's laws; though he broke that promise so flagrantly a moment after. Canute, so long before him, had said the same; and whether or not by birth a Christian, pleased his subjects by becoming a fervent one, and a tolerable monarch; for the Anglo-Saxon oath of allegiance was like that of Arragon, conditional—"if not, no!" Canute, while King of England, compiled and published in Denmark the Danish civil and military code; also, in the Court of England, towards that time, was brought up the first Norwegian legislator. The Anglo-Saxons had become Christians in the seventh, and the Danes about the eighth century; and as to the native Britons, it is not worth counting how long previously; for what remained of them were reduced to slavery in a country where it is boasted that slavery had never existed by law, nor ended by law, but naturally and silently went out of itself. As to the Normans, they were Christians when they left Normandy.

But although Harold had none at all, William had at least a show of right, not only as adopted

by Edward, but from his own father's having been the legitimate child of a Queen of England ; and if he was himself illegitimate, yet we are assured by Sismondi that in (what the Normans were so intimate with) Italy, an illegitimate succeeded in the great nobility, just like a legitimate son. Much the same in all Europe. And William signing his name *Bastardus*, seems even to have taken pride in the distinction. His mother, a nobleman's daughter, had had Robert for her first love, and was true to him till his death ; so that their union was in truth what is called a left-handed marriage—*Morganatic*, an ancient German custom. Their only son was moreover legitimized by the kings and barons of France. At nineteen William was so fine a youth that the famous Duke of Flanders, Baldwin, gave him his daughter in wedlock ; and at Hastings, he was one of the bravest knights and most enterprising monarchs in Europe. He had fifty thousand horse that day ; and how many infantry, I do not know. They were all paid troops ; not surprising that a single battle decided. That one loss, of not a very numerous army either, and the whole cause was lost. Another proof that Harold's party knew they had not the majority of the nation with them.

The Varangian guards at Constantinople, and

those other gallant refugees in Syria testify it was not courage or fidelity the Saxons wanted at Hastings. The disastrous consequence of that field was that almost all England was reduced to slavery--every one but Normans. Feudalism on the most extensive and exclusive scale, without any one of the influences that tempered it in other countries, embraced Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and every reminiscence of the Heptarchy, levelling them all to the Britons, and branding them indiscriminately as slaves and English ; for that every Norman was a gentleman, and every Englishman a slave.

Besides the Britons and their wives and families, and some of the free-born Saxons themselves, who, from debts or crimes had lost their liberty, or even from want had voluntarily sold themselves, it was calculated before the Conquest, that slaves formed two-thirds of the population of England. But now the Conquest prostrated to the same vile station those who had before been masters. Frightful retribution ! The proud, war-like, and comparatively polished Norman despised and abused the conquered. William was ferocious on principle. His victims submitted to the yoke in sullen despair ; one unhappy Saxon of royal descent went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; and coming home, died of a broken

heart in 1086. His royalty secured him notice, but many of less illustrious and private rank ended similarly. Nobility, chief clergy, all foreigners—like their king. Females violated ; and men sent to prison at the beck of the lowest Norman.

Nearly every inch of land in England became Norman property. Posterity could not believe it. The king had one thousand four hundred and thirty-two manors, and an income of nearly six thousand pounds a-day. Nor legally could any earldom be otherwise than Norman. Troubles were too severe to permit of considering it any compensation that a few Anglo-Saxon ladies, who had escaped into France, were admired there for their wonderful beauty, even at that early period, so full of stern calamity. With such punctual harshness was the feudal system practised at once, that in less than two years from Hastings, we hear no more of the king's hired troops, but sixty thousand feudal cavalry ; and if *lances* be meant, as likely, then we must multiply by six, and have the huge body that is most probably the truth.

The Northmen, who had never known anything feudal in Scandinavia, acquired it so well in France, that William's first care in England was to establish feudalism there in all its rigour. The Anglo-Saxon ordeal was changed by the Normans

into the wager of battle, which, if it led to the trial by jury, it is a curious and serpentine path; but in truth, the trial by jury came not circuitously, but directly from Scandinavia and the Goths, and was their own unwritten law, and no distinct profession, but was brought into England by the Anglo-Saxons as a whole people; and though they became Christians, they continued to content themselves with that primitive institution, and one court for both laymen and ecclesiastics. That the Goths were acquainted with writing, not only before they came to Scandinavia, but even previous to their leaving the Euxine, is no proof that they did not explain their laws orally. Their common law and its chief institutes were both written and oral. Neither canon law, nor pandects had penetrated into Scandinavia; but William, who had learned the continental fashion, introduced two courts, one for church, and one for laity; Justinian for these, and decretals for those. Was it not a carnal error? What before had been *heriot*, became Norman *relief*. If the former was a grievance, this other was ten times worse. Later even, the English gentry led a sorry existence; no foreign luxuries, few or no male servants, save a clown for the wretched farm, ugly horses, and no carriages with four wheels, springs not to be thought of, little wine,

even their hospitality very limited; an income of ten or twenty pounds a competent estate for a gentleman, and, if we multiply by twenty-four, we have the present value of that sum.

But in the eleventh century, of which I speak, things were beyond comparison worse, though chivalry was then at its full, and had been growing for above three hundred years. Still, though nobly based in honour, it could effect little, as not applying to all classes and both sexes. This religion does, or may do; but neither liberty, nor honour, fine things as these be, for they admit of several distinctions and inequalities, moral and physical, but religion not one! Why leave out what, more than gallantry or chivalry, or the refinements of society, placed woman in her proper place of a companion to man, not his slave as among the Greeks and Romans, and the very best of Paganism, but his tender friend and equal? It was indeed the Christian religion that emancipated the female, and raised her destiny to the height of our own! Yet even religion might for awhile seem too feeble to control the ferocity of that age. Rather for the savage feeling it indicates, than for the value of the thing in itself, is recorded that the Conqueror meditated extirpating its language from the island.

Out of the Saxon branch of the great Teutonic stock, arose what had been spoken in England until long after the Norman, which, whatever was his impotent wish, only somewhat impeded its progress, since the nobility for the most part went on speaking French, even after Normandy had become part of France; and as for legal documents, they were invariably in law Latin, and several of the best chronicles of England likewise; nor was it till the fourteenth century that Chaucer gave England its Dante. Till then, English was an irregular jargon made up of bad French and worse Celtic, and various dialects of old German. Whether Oxford had or not thirty thousand scholars under the Plantagenets, it seems a decided fact that it existed as a university in the time of Edward the Confessor, and many affirm it was founded by Alfred.

That gunpowder ever was discovered there, may be fiction, or how much earlier, in what corner of the East, perhaps China. But happily, in mercy or not, the Saracens kept it to themselves; nor as late as Creci, do the English seem to have had firearms there, notwithstanding all that has been advanced; for France was nearer Spain and the Moors, to get their inventions first; and so curious a particular could scarcely fail of registry by the cotemporary writers who described that battle *ex pro-*

fesso, and one of them an eye-witness of it, and a Frenchman. Their silence is the most eloquent of denials. As for Villani, he was far off, and only wrote what he heard. Gunpowder appeared a great thing then, and a reasonable cause for that defeat, as well as a salve for much offended vanity. But now opinions have come about, and nearly all military men prefer lances for cavalry, and some of the best judges for infantry too; and that the Greek and Roman way of good swords and lances, or any description of cold iron, even this most unwieldy weapon, the bayonet—so far as it represents a lance—is better and surer than musketry, whether for attack or defence; that artillery, both heavy and light, is a splendid treasure to be coaxed and perfected to the utmost; but that regiments of the line, horse and foot, would act more wisely to throw away firelocks, pistols, and hand-grenades altogether, as quite too cumbrous and uncertain, and to learn to be capital lancers and swordsmen, whether as infantry, to scale walls or resist a charge of cavalry, not with bayonets, but long heavy lances, requiring three men to each lance, and keeping the horses far off, which is an old English fashion—such being to depend on, and quite inimitable, and easily modified to suit cuirassiers, hussars, or Polish lancers. But now whatever would liberate men for awhile

from slavery to the soil, would be a great benefit, and a bold step towards regaining what they had lost—freedom. Truly (as Mr. Hallam says) the socmen are the root of a noble plant, the free peasantry of England. But what were they in the eleventh century? How fallen must they have been, when their only hope was in the Pope! Though not the Papal only, but ecclesiastical encroachments in general, are what the laity should keep a wary and perhaps suspicious eye on. Yet some of the Popes took the popular side on most questions; and even where religious ceremonies were used, as in ordeals and wagers of battle, demurring against both as unwarrantable appeals to the Almighty, did they not therein appear the advocates of liberty and reason?

It is not perhaps possible to congregate a greater accumulation of miseries than then pressed on the English. Robbers, and plunderers, and ravishers, imitated those lawless invaders and their sanguinary mercenaries. These often, instead of pay from the needy or miserly barons whom they served, got leave to plunder indiscriminately. These from tyranny, those impoverished natives from a sort of necessity, were equally the horror and scourge of whatever was left of honesty or innocence in any class. So lawless the mercenaries (who, not con-

tent with sacking it, sometimes set fire to a town—burning it down, inhabitants and all), that a later monarch had to expel them in a body, under pain of death, without further evidence than that they were known to be hired soldiers. Not but intermarriages with the Normans effected union in the end, and all their progeny, after some generations, became free, and every inhabitant in the land a freeman ; but, for an age, it did little more than evil, by generalising it. Yet the poor English were quick learners ; and mastered the French so well, that it soon was hard to distinguish by speech between the English and the Normans.

That the laws of these different species of Northmen were all from one genus—the Gothic—is proved likewise by this, that a striking affinity was between many of their institutions; and that William, treading in the very footsteps of Alfred, had every hide of land in the kingdom surveyed by commissioners, who were to impanel a jury in each hundred; and the offspring was what exists in the Exchequer to this day, Domesday Book. William's eldest son, another Robert, appears to have inherited something of his grandfather's piety, combined with the gigantic form and sabring qualities of his father. He soon went to Palestine, not with staff and shell, but rapier and buckler.

Then, from Robert on the highest steps of the throne, down to the lowest serf in England, all ranks were uneasy, and without one sedentary wish. No English father could give his own daughter away in marriage without his Norman lord's consent; and the latter could make her marry any man he liked, the moment she was fourteen; and heiresses were constantly sold by their lords to the highest bidder. An auction of fillies. Horrors beyond the force of any tongue, tortures the most infernal and illegal were practised by every petty owner of a crow's nest, with perfect impunity; once within his foul walls, and your case was as hopeless as in hell.

Durham Cathedral might be in the best Norman style; and several other cathedrals might afterwards display pointed arches, and rich decorations, and fantastic tracery and arabesques—built perhaps by companies of incipient freemasons; yet not only the castles of the most potent noblemen were dark, cold, unsightly erections, but also the gentry were miserably lodged; and as for the people's dwellings, they did not merit the name of houses at all, but styes or dog kennels—or something fouler and meaner still. The barons, in their keeps, were wild beasts in horrid dens. Every baron was a pitiless despot. But what results from all these

observations, if not that England was no exception, but as ready as any other state in Europe for an explosion, or any radical change? and that, burning with impatience for the signal, if given from any part of Christendom, the white cliffs would be just as determined as whatsoever country to echo it and march?

In Spain the people are better bred than any in Europe, says a well-informed writer even of late; and another has ably affirmed that the fierce Spaniard never forgets he has Gothic blood in him. Now both observations are not only true at present, but also from the middle ages down; and the first from the ancient Romans. The lower classes in Spain still spoke the same Latin dialect that they had spoken in the time of Augustus probably; when the Visigoths, before the fifth century, invaded and fixed in it. The Visigoths were to Spain, what the Anglo-Saxons were to England. Their capital, Toledo; until the Moors in 712. From that disastrous downfall, Pelayo retreating with his few, planted the cross in the mountains of Asturias, where it remained for a couple of centuries. But in 914 it removed to Leon; and the Moor driven back step by step, the Christians became masters of their former metropolis, Toledo, in the eleventh century; and to know what sort of

government they established there, it is necessary to have known what was that of the Visigoths ; for what was then re-set, was in substance what had been plucked out. Meagre as are the chronicles regarding each, yet by joining those of both periods, we learn indubitably at least that it was a system of rational constitutional monarchy.

It is not without feelings of deep reverence that a lover of freedom turns to Spain. Not Latins or Moors, but on its Gothic kingdom and Pelayo are his thoughts—and on the early Spanish liberties. The Cid is only a splendid instance of the heroism that has scarcely ever ceased to distinguish Spain. The Visigoths being, like all the other Northmen, a branch of the Goths, did not treat the Romans with that haughty contempt which the rest of the barbarians showed, but gave a legal sanction to intermarriages between Goths and Spaniards, much more early than in Italy or elsewhere. So Goths and Spaniards soon amalgamated, and the law declared them equal *in dignity and lineage*. Nevertheless, we know little of the manners of the Visigoths before the Moors—perhaps less than of the primitive Hungarians ; for except battles, miracles, and murders, there is little in the chronicles, who seem to love throwing a dark and barbarous stain on all they relate most concisely and jejunctly.

Cruel and vindictive acts brought their own ruin, and the Moorish invasion. Goth and Spaniard had already so intimately coalesced, that the barrier of language disappeared, and the *Romance* tongue spoken and written universally ; so that scarcely a Visigoth word remained. And for one of Gothic origin in Spanish, there are ten in Italian, and a hundred in French.

The law Latin is far purer in Spain than in France or Italy; for in these countries the barbarians would by no means give up their old Gothic words, when they thought they expressed the thing in question as well or better than the Latin, but laughed at Roman lawyers, and scorned them ; but the Spanish Goths, with no such harsh pride, were pleased with translating the law of the Goths into good Latin.

Money, or slavery, or mutilation, for murder, and nearly all crimes, was preferred to the punishment of death—in the Anglo-Saxon fashion. But the trial by jury had a far greater latitude of application in Spain than in England. When the throne became vacant in Scandinavia, the provinces used to choose each a jury of twelve men, and these chose a new king; which example, indeed, it is not quite clear that the earliest Spaniards rigorously followed; but their crown was elective, and the

jury was used in the army and navy as well as nearly all civil and criminal cases. The ordeal was still more reprehended in Spain by the Papacy than in the Heptarchy. Not only Pope Honorius forbade it, but also the Council of Leon. No clergyman could officiate at ordeals. Still the tribunals and popular charters continued them; "although these ordeals are prohibited by Rome" (says the law book), "yet they may go on; and if no priest, nor even clerk, be allowed to give the blessing, the magistrates may give it—which will be nearly as well."

That the jury is common to all the Northmen is a proof that it was the invention of none of them, but had been inherited from their common parent, the Goth. If the juries in Spain were not so equal as in England (for a Spanish peasant had all his jury superior, while eleven of the Anglo-Saxon jurymen were of the rank of the accused, and only one a king's thane), yet this has a compensation in the fact that in Spain a woman had a jury of women.

In some Spanish towns, when there was a quarrel between man and wife, the cause was tried by a female jury, and no appeal; and as this is a great exception from Gothic rules (by which oaths of men alone were taken in cases of accused females), we may attribute it to the usual Spanish

gallantry, which chivalrous respect for females, whether mediately or immediately, is the only question; and who deny that the heroic Goth had any participation, or the soul-stirring warmth of Moorish imagination either, they must refer it wholly to Christianity; and indeed, any medium of Goths or Moors were superfluous; nor could any splendour of poetry speak half as forcibly to the tender enthusiastic heart of the Spanish mother, as the simple, unclassical lines which, when fresh in the seventh century, were as popular in Spain, as lately with us when set by Rossini to his sweet music; and it is to be doubted if so complete a picture was ever drawn in a few plain words:—

“*Stabat mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem lacrimosa,
Dunc pendebat filius.*”

No! that spiritualised creation, that brightest, most blessed sovereign Lady, she that never sinned, nor ever was otherwise than immaculate, she whose robe was the sun; whose footstool, the moon; whose crown, the stars; she far more than goddess; that dear, mysterious, ineffable union of maternal and virginal celestial love, sorrow, beauty; she may well be an object of reverence to both men and angels; and what but an inferior representative of her was all that is sacred or beautiful in the whole

female race? Spanish men knew what their women personified, and Spanish women, too, were conscious of their dignity, as became them. From Molina (chief town of the Laras), the completest municipal record in Spain in 1152, we learn that unanimity in a jury was required; and in cases of extremity, a juror was withdrawn, and the accused was at liberty to name another—once practised in England likewise.

In one respect the Visigoth monarchy was happily modified in the Asturias from what it had been before the Moor. At first altogether elective—worst of governments—generally force and artifice, not the public will, elected their kings; so, they being often murdered to make room for a new king (asking the Church's assent afterwards, which was never refused); from this radical defect sprang rapacity and extortion, till lost were independence, religion, and all, to the Moorish invaders.

The Visigoth monarchs had become cruel despots, yet perhaps they have the excuse of the memory of dynasties of kings in Spain previous to their own coming, when we should refer all their liberties to their own race; and all their slavery and vice to those prior kings, who may have had much of the imperial absolutism of Constantinople, a polluted

source, to whom bad doctrines are more imputable than to the Papal clergy of those times, who usually sided with what was free and honest. The odious Inquisition was long posterior, as is almost needless to remark. The Moors that overwhelmed Spain at once, would also France, had it not been for Charles Martel; but it was very gradually indeed that they lost their fine empire.

Under Ferdinand, in about the middle of the eleventh century, began the splendid course of the Cid, which, continuing under his sons, D. Sancho, who was killed at Zamora in 1072, and Alphonso VI., for whom he retook Toledo and Madrid a few years afterwards, shows delightfully with what a chivalrous spirit were carried on those wars against the Moors; inasmuch as in the very midst of them the above-named king (Alphonso VI.) married the daughter of the king of the Moors at Seville; no exception, but a fair sample of those heroic ages. The worst of elective monarchies had worn out during the day of calamity, and that long abeyance in the Asturias had reformed things so far, as that the election had become hereditary in one house, which remedied the radical defect of an elective form. The Cid's times were then worthy of him.

Whether the Spaniards learnt from the Moors—

as is pretended—or, what is more likely, that the Moors had acquired some of the generosity that characterises the Goths when not provoked, but on the contrary, met with something of the high feelings which they possessed themselves, and of that chivalry which certainly was the bud when Christianity came to blow on a northern stem; however that be, the sure incident is, that while the civil wars between Christians were less bloody and cruel than in other countries, those with the Moors were with the generous courtesy scarcely found elsewhere, except perhaps a slight tinge in England's continental expeditions of Froissart's time; and that the Cid's feats of heroism shed a wild and most romantic colouring on all Spain, until his name itself became a personification of whatever can be imagined of noblest and most brilliant, not from any other sentiment than the uncalculating valour that disdains any other reward than glory; such a magnificent, ineffable blaze, that it endures not a little from that day to this. If the Spanish sun be set, the horizon is still glowing, and flings a faint orange, as it were, of the chivalrous on everything and creature of Spanish birth, habituating us to look upon all from that region with a favouring eye, as naturally expecting more than ordinary merit. Even the sneerer who smiles to the sight,

assents within; and though the Castillian grandeur be ridiculed as misplaced or vain, and may be laughable haughtiness, half admires it.

That the Cid was a chastened incarnation of Homer's Achilles, is a fact beyond controversy, and that his country merited that glorious distinction. That the poem of the Cid (of the age following his death, and said to be the finest of Spanish poems) is at least better than any in modern Europe before Dante, has been decided by unanswerable authority. The Cid, that brightest of warriors, appeared in Spain's brightest period. Ah! me! to be brief! for another Alphonso was to appear, Alphonso—called the Wise, for his astronomy, but most unwise for his policy, since his code of the Siete Partidas was to produce to him unhappiness and a turbulent reign, and to his country a civil war of fifty years, and eventually the overthrow of her ancient legislature and all her freedom.

Though the great mosque at Cordova was built in the eighth century, and is of far greater beauty and magnificence than any cathedral of that time, in France, England, or anywhere in Europe, still the architecture suitable for churches and palaces was not so for private houses—even of the prime grandees. Nor were the habitations of the Spanish nobles otherwise than very rude; and what then

of the people? There is an Arabic writing in the Escorial that could make great disclosures on that head.

If the Moorish armies brought gunpowder, and measles, and small-pox into Europe, they also brought chemistry, Aristotle, and perhaps Plato; and Mahometans were to bring inoculation as well. Who but is willing to believe that when Goths and Visigoths had become an almost forgotten name—as it soon did—and merged in that of “pure Spaniard,” or “old Christian”—their Gothic genealogy being locked up with their hidden treasures, to be drawn out on occasion, and displayed with pride—they did not as horribly ill treat the Jews as other lands? For the Spanish Jews denied most indignantly that they descended from the murderers of Christ, but from Hebrews that had emigrated into Spain centuries before his Divine birth; and on the contrary proved that when their forefathers heard of his being persecuted in Jerusalem, they sent ambassadors thither to dissuade those of Palestine from harming him; and the document asserting this was kept with considerable reverence at Toledo.

When it is conjectured that the Visigoths came into Spain before they had written laws, is not this an evident mistake, and in contradiction with the

general belief, that the Goths had letters previous to leaving the Euxine? How could then their sons the Visigoths not? Is it not falling into the error of thinking oral opposed to written? But may not the common law be written as to the text, and oral as to the custumal, or comment of the recorder? or modified by the judge or jury? St. Isidore may only have meant the change of characters, no longer Runic, but Roman. This was the *new writing*. Traditional, or what is oral, has not only as much permanence as written, but much more. It is to inscribe not on parchment, but on men's minds; on no evanescent matter, but on what is immortal. Are not national songs and ballads older than any writing? This may get lost, or destroyed, or forgotten, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but the oral will be transmitted from generation to generation; but once reduced to writing, and it is liable to slip from memory, which recoils away as from a burden, and feels again vacant and free.

The Druids confided their laws to memory alone, says Cæsar. A short jingle suffices for a heap of desultory deductions. A rhyming or alliterative law is hard to obliterate from memory, nor likely to be innovated. What scroll of secretary is to be depended on like that of the memory of an illiterate warrior or wild huntsman?

When the Visigoth code was written in 466, the immediate consequence was that no former law was remembered, and so we are ignorant of the custumal of the Goths, as far as Spanish information. But from that code we see that the Visigoth kings were then obliged to have the popular consent, without which no laws could be made. The Theodosian, or some other Roman authority, may have been admitted into that Gothic collection; but the Visigoths, with a pardonable pride, corrected those foreign interpolations first. And in the fourth Council of Toledo, the whole was joined in one body, and called the *Fuero jusgo*, and was amended in another council there, in 653. Various MSS. of the *Fuero jusgo* (some clandestine) went before printing; so it is hard to discover the exact truth, save that Spain anciently had a free or constitutional monarchy, as free as that of England ever was; although, since Ferdinand and Isabella, or Charles V., the Kings of Spain have been absolute.

From the dawn of the eleventh century, town after town became Christian; the cross bore all before it—Saragossa, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands, and Murcia and Cordova and entire Andalusia, were annexed to Christianity and Castille; yet even so, and allowing that the arts and sciences of Cordova, and the sedentary habits they produce,

might have rendered the Moors less hardy, these were nevertheless, to reign for two and a half centuries longer in part of Spain.

As high as twenty-five per cent, or twenty, was still to be the interest of money; and if it was only at ten at Barcelona in 1433, that was when there were insurance laws, which do not exist before regular commerce; and Spain was not of the commercial log at that period. Also in Spain Charlemagne's *caballary* were landowners and knights. There, as elsewhere, the *milites* of the middle ages were knights. "Sive *miles*, sive *alius*," that is, *knight* or not. "Statuimus (says one of those ancient Spanish kings) ut nullus faciat *militem*, nisi filium *militis*"—"none but who is qualified by being a gentleman," as it has very properly been translated.

Although Visigoths, Danes, Lombards, Vandales, may have differed as to pride, do not various examples prove that all the Gothic tribes were no way niggard of verbal changes, but offhanded as to taking or giving of language? Was it not characteristic of the entire stock? When they found it difficult for the Southern to acquire Gothic, they left their own and took his tongue. If this occurred in most countries, it is above all remarkable in Spain.

Willingly they gave their language and freedom,

and had in return religion and wealth. However sounding their titles, the Visigoth kings, no more than the Anglo-Saxon, were absolute; but popular will and responsible agents were mixed up with every act of the monarch. His laws were no laws until they had the national assent in a full meeting, or council, or Cortes, *universalis consensu*; nor could any individual be punished without a fair trial. Alphonso I. was chosen "by the whole Gothic nation." Alphonso II., "by the whole kingdom."

In 930 Alphonso VI. abdicated "with consent of the Cortes;" but, though the monarchy continued elective, it was in one particular family; "and in 966, notions of hereditary right had made such progress" that a child of only five years old, son of the late king, was elected to the throne by the people. When in 1064 Ferdinand divided his states between his children, he first called a meeting of his subjects and obtained their consent. Alphonso in 882 gives a charter to his clergy, both by the consent of his nobility and of his people—*scriptura quam in concilio edimus*. Ramiro in 930 calls a general council to advise whether he shall attack the Saracens. In 985, Vermudo pronounces with the consent of the *council*.

The earliest Cortes of which the acts have been preserved, in 1020, was to *assist* Alphonso V. In

1046 under another monarch, we have a Cortes consulting about the operations of a war against the Moors. In the Cortes of 1089, Alphonso VI., with its consent, appoints an Archbishop of Santiago. The same Cortes oblige that king's daughter to marry the King of Arragon, and as soon as she has a son, elect him to be their king and to succeed her father, instead of her. In 1135 a Cortes held at Leon under Alphonso VII., is convened "to deliberate on all the affairs of the Spanish monarchy." Ferdinand convenes a Cortes at Salamanca in 1178, with a similar mandate. There were no distinctions on such occasions between civil and ecclesiastical. The Cortes were the virtual representatives of the whole kingdom in 1188, and not the deputies of any particular class or community. The Cortes, like the ancient Parliaments in England, drove away the minions of one debauched monarch, and interposed to baffle the bigotry of another, who, in league with an unworthy party of the clergy, wished to oppress and expel his Moorish subjects. *Procuradores* were later, and, as from the different cities, formed a distinct part of Cortes. Matters went on thus even until the author of the Siete Partidas died in 1285, which began the funeral of Spanish liberty.

Spaniards, then, in the eleventh century, were

certainly far from as unhappy as other Europeans; yet was Spain unsettled. It had lately had great changes, and was in expectation of greater. Nor had Spaniards to look far off; their foe was in their own homes. Nor did they dream of quitting their beloved Spain; but of rendering themselves masters of it—their cherished native land! They had more patriotism a great deal, than any other people in Europe. This splendid virtue, sometimes mistaken for hatred to foreigners, has often led to benefit; as when the “erudite party” proposed classical plays, which was put down by the people, always characteristically hostile to foreign interference. So, instead of imitation, Spain has got the most national, original, independent, perhaps finest theatre in the world. Not to emigrate, but most ripe were the Spaniards to applaud loudly any project that fell in with their own heated feelings, and dislike—not to say contempt—of every description of foreigners; and glowed as always, with an ultra-devotion, an inexpressible fervour, both in religion and war; in the former a metaphysical magnificence, and in the latter not design of havoc, or to plunder the odious strangers, but love of country, sublimed to an unheard-of degree, and exceedingly lucid honour and romantic valour.

Not for having received the gospel, and to prepare mankind for that Divine gift, was the precise mission on which Socrates and Plato were sent, according to some of the Fathers, but for her having received it so badly, thinking men account by the very low ebb of morals in ancient Rome; and that, not during her decline, but the most glorious and flourishing days of her republic. In Jugurtha's times, that famous metropolis was a sink of iniquities, most enormous, most sanguinary deeds; murder being sold openly in her shops, like any other commodity; poison or dagger at your option—the highest or lowest—in reference each to his station; but every man's life had its price, none extravagantly dear. No matter what part of the civilised world he was in; though it would cost less and be more convenient to get him nearer the Romulean centre, by lure, or force, nevertheless the business could be cheapened quietly, and without the smallest embarrassment, as regularly as we now purchase cloth at a clothier's; and Tacitus avows that, when he wrote, the Germans were ignorant of even the existence of many of the crimes that were quite habitual in the Eternal City. So, though she embraced Christianity at last, yet when six centuries later the barbarians descended into Italy, they found a people they soon learned to despise.

Those first Northmen, or Ostrogoths, when they settled south of the Alps, chose a king, from some idea that it was no denial of the imperial dignity, which they had left behind them on the Danube, and which was afterwards acknowledged in the person of Charlemagne; and Italy came to be considered in all subsequent ages as a province of the great western empire established in Germany. Yet however unfavourable had been their early impression, shortly did the Ostrogoths hurry into an intimate union with the Italians, who depraved them; the balance being that, while these were in some degree regenerated, those had their native hardihood enervated; and the very name of Ostrogoth dying away, the two races merged in a single one, and were denominated Italians.

Whether the Ostrogoths had been converted previously to the Alpine barrier, admits of dispute; but they were certainly Christians when they passed the Po; and for awhile, seeing no emperor come from towards the Danube, they put up with him of Constantinople, and obeyed his delegates; so natural and necessary they found it, to be under some imperial master; nor liked to be as babes in the wood. Which craving after dependence came more from the southern than the Oltremontana moiety of their blood; for it has been remarked that the

Italians have ever loved something they could depend on, and only felt free when in numbers within walls; while Northmen felt free everywhere, but most so when in the forest or single and independent in wide space. And truly until the Ostrogoths had joined them, these others had no idea at all of the native loftiness of human nature, or patriotism, or man's inborn love of freedom.

Their emperors distant (east or west), the Popes became the only objects of great reverence that remained in Rome; particularly as there was no other chance of withstanding anarchy and baronial usurpation. And to that sacred scope, it is but justice to own, the Papacy dedicated its labours incessantly. The circumstances of that awful period, a bishop's duties, and the choice of a suffering people, form, to some apprehensions a more honourable and, as it were, superhuman title, than any the most vigorously substantiated donation of Constantine, Pepin, or Charlemagne.

Never did the Holy See cease from trying to keep the Romans faithful to the Greek Emperor, until it was forced by the popular cry to refuse equally edict and tribute, and appeal to Paris; for an old policy of the Italians is to have two masters, play off one against the other, and be false to both; and this, far more than Grecian iconoclasm,

made the mob of the Tiber roar for French protection. But scarce had the Ostrogoths vanished, without leaving even a name to state they had ever been, when, as if to vindicate their great misfortune, advanced the energetic ire of the wisest, bravest, most powerful of all the races of Northmen, the Lombards.

Nor is it certain whether they were not invited by the archtraitor Narsetes, recalled to Constantinople by as perfidious a master. It was diamond cut diamond. Slowly winding down the Alps, the Lombards ruminated sad on the woful example of the Ostrogoth; but resolved to avoid the same mishap. Even supposing them to have embraced Christianity, it nothing diminished of their severe intentions; since built upon no spirit of vengeance, but on what seemed to them the most prudential concerns. They knew that, like themselves and all the progeny of the Goth, their predecessors likewise had their Witenagemot, Cortes, or Parliament, as in Spain, France, or England; that national meeting which chose or deposed kings; that oath of allegiance qualified with the preservation of their ancient liberties; and, that those holy institutions, the same they bore with them, and planted where they settled, to think they had been already refused and made little of, filled them with fierce

disdain. "We Lombards," cried one of their chiefs, "like the Visigoths, Burgundians, and others of our countrymen, so completely despise the very name of Roman, that, when in a passion with our enemies, we know of nothing more injurious than calling them Romans; for in that single term is included all that is imaginable of most ignoble, most slavish, most miserly, most corrupt, most lying—and in one word, every vice!"

So the valiant Lombard, having bought with the dearest price, his blood, the whole valley of the Po (or, as Dante calls it, "the valley between the seas"), he fixed his government within that sacred pale, and thence, as from a home, scattered about his outposts, from the Alps to Calabria, with the sternest resolution to profit by the warning, and not vitiate his own vital stream by mingling it with that of a degenerate breed; and for years did that reluctance continue; and the Lombards went on increasing, and the Romans diminishing, until nearly or quite extinct about the Milanese, or with slender exceptions, slaves; not a single native proprietor there, but, if he survived, expatriated; every acre of that whole tract of country became exclusively Lombard property. Yet, even these proudest, most intrepid of Northmen, little by little, lost some part of their attachment to those

constitutional liberties which they had brought with them from Scandinavia, common heirloom from the illustrious Goth, whose legal freedom was the product of his own virtuous, unbiassed will.

It might be chiefly from having had no wars but with Greeks and Italians; and still worse during peace, the effeminate habits of pampered Italy had full opportunity to eat into and corrode their souls. Thus, the coming of Charlemagne, at another plaintive invitation, from mildness that too easily deigned acceding to his people's wishes (they, not the Pontiff, being the real abject petitioners), put an end to the first (and perhaps only purely) Lombard kingdom. Scarcely more survived of it than its iron crown, and the name of Lombardy—name that in itself is a perpetual triumphal gate, proclaiming to all ages that there the Northman has a patrimonial right for ever. How, but through him, and him alone, can be proved a judicial title to any particle of that land?

Italians may consider the advent of Charlemagne to be a new barbaric irruption, if they will, but they had asked for it! and moreover they had already rejected freedom, which had been brought into their country twice (both by Ostrogoths and Lombards); so proved themselves unworthy of better than despotism. For the most part cut to

pieces, but whatever remained of the Lombards, even in that extremity, had only taken one of his sons for king ; but a vile populace at Rome, quite voluntarily, and without Charlemagne's requiring it, saluted him Emperor; so above all kings. What could the Lombards, but assent, and rejoice that the lot had fallen at least upon a truly great man?

The worthless electors, far from appreciating his merits, would have huzzaed for a Nero just the same. But Charlemagne was in advance of his age. If a thicker darkness than ever, came over Europe after his death, that is no fault of his, nor of his family, that reigned for about seventy-three years after him, so that his dynasty closed in A.D. 888. The Italians have no one to accuse but themselves, if they profaned the sun of Christianity, and by their wickedness contrived to turn its good into evil; or neglected freedom, then abused, and at length suffocated. Universal influence, as both legislator and warrior, was Charlemagne's during his whole long reign; nor thus alone, but for nearly a century it decorated and kept life and sovereign power in his line after him, in spite of their inferiority of talent; and surely that is more than can be said of other noted conquerors.

Italy has always been a divided country, save a

few uncertain years when a crumb of the Roman Empire ; and this is so true, that it is apparent from its geographical form, *à priori*, by a look on the mere map, without opening a page of its annals ; for a long narrow slip of land, cut by mountains and rivers, cannot but comprehend various climates and national distinctions, in which neither language nor religion could be a nationality, since difference in dialect is more observable than any uniformity of written formula ; and did creed suffice, then Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, and others, would be one nation.

But truth is, neither language nor religion ever formed a nationality—nor ever will ; they may be characteristics of a nation ; which however can change both, without for that ceasing to be a nation. And all the experience of history leads to the same conclusion. The oldest accounts of Italy (from those faint earliest glimpses where historic authenticity begins) find five distinct people there, speaking various distinct languages, which with the numerous dialects of the aborigines (none know who those aborigines were), and a large majority of words of Æolic (forefathers of Greek), winnowed by the Etruscans, formed that exquisite olla podrida, Latin.

As late as Julius Cæsar the Italian province went

no further than Rimini. All immediately north of it was called, not Italia, but Gallia. The more split into independencies, the more free in her case; of which lasting truth the Italian Republics were only dazzling instances. The exception would be while under one harsh yoke of transient servitude—which might include other nations equally well. Therefore the lower Lombards (as we say lower empire) did nothing but follow the usages of the country, when, after waiting twenty years, and no sovereign appearing with the authority of any proper election, they divided themselves into thirty independent duchies all through Italy—one at Spoleto, another at Benevento—crown and name in Lombardy might shadow forth the defunct Lombard kingdom; but in conformity with existing things, they too assumed feudalism.

Sismondi does not draw as marked a separation as desirable between the Gothic or constitutional system and the feudal. The former perished with the primitive Lombards, like the Visigothic Cortes. These limpid and fresh from the northern source, were too excellent for the vicious south. Such ask purer disciples.

The feudal system led directly to absolute monarchy in Spain and elsewhere, and in Italy to the death of freedom as well, in the end; though indi-

rectly, after that hysteric struggle, her Republics of the middle ages. Yes, feudalism was a modification unhappily made towards brute force.

From feudalism to despotism nothing but a stepping-stone were the Republics—half of whose citizens were generally in exile for years or life. Their substance confiscated, their houses sacked or demolished. Did not Florence deprive herself of her best and most distinguished individuals? Dante and Petrarch, where did they leave their bones? Dante was condemned to be burnt to death if caught; yet he had committed nothing deserving of any punishment. I mention it, because Italian historians leave it out.

Florence since she has had the grace to be ashamed of it, tries to hide it. So even late writers doubt or forget it. Yet it is a certain fact. The original sentence exists still. It is too atrocious for silence. All mankind are interested not to permit forgetting an example of to what crimes party can climb. But that way lies digression to lose ourselves. Back to the tenth century.

After the edict of Constantinople had been formally disobeyed by Rome, also Ravenna and its entire exarchate did the same, and nothing remained to the Greek in Italy except some towns in Magna Grecia. As early as 833 had the Popes fortified

Ostia against the African buccanneers who tried to profit by Charlemagne's death. It is an assured fact that the Popes became temporal powers immediately on the fall of the Roman Empire, and during the period of many ages took every opportunity of being useful to Italy.

Nor in a Pope's lifetime—he being dependent on the Emperor only—was Rome in a bad state ; but when conclaves occurred, then indeed were the Romans delivered over to the most unsparing slavery—that of their own oligarchs, which bitter irony chose to denominate freedom. Which circumstance contributed, with a variety of others, to render the Papacy popular. Whenever Popes and Emperors agreed (which was rarely), it was not at all against liberty, but against the lowest servitude, to which the barons reduced their townsmen as long as they could spin out the *sede vacante*, or some violent sedition. The Romans used thus to pass from fawning on some blaspheming patricians, hard or impossible to be pleased, to bend somewhat less to the priesthood ; for religious feelings might soften the Wolsey, but nothing the domineering outlaw.

Dante in his “*Monarchia*” endeavoured to distinguish the temporal from spiritual ; but if it was feasible in his time, it was not so in the three preceding centuries ; for then it was a universal

practice to jumble them together. Mahometan freebooters erected a sort of temporary colony at Naples, and besieged Gaeta in 846, but were driven off.

Amalphi declared its independence in 839; but unfortunately the discoveries for which it has been given immortal credit, are all three unfounded; for the mariner's compass was certainly discovered long before; some say was known to the Etruscans previous to the founding of Rome; others in the fourth century of our era; the Pandects, too, if in any event those laws merit the honour of having their discovery applauded or inquired into by a lover of freedom; and as for the sea code, Oleron and Sweden are tough antagonists.

In 924, on intelligence reaching the Emperor Berenger, then on a visit in Verona, that an Italian nobleman of this name was plotting against his life, he had the generosity to send for the accused, and in private audience at supper told, and pardoned him his enormous crime; and, taking up a golden goblet, handed it to him, and said, "Let this be an emblem between us of the sincerity both of my forgiveness and of your repentance; accept it, and remember that your emperor is your son's god-father." And the next morning, when secure from a numerous accompaniment, this same

count, meeting that emperor alone in the street, rushed at and stabbed him; and after the murder, walked off triumphing and surrounded by friends. The German, who related that to the succeeding emperor, generalised overmuch in adding, "Such were the Italians some years ago, and such are they likely to continue for a long time yet." After so shocking a lesson, it is not astonishing that Otho (deservedly called the Great) should be rather severe in his first excursion to Pavia, to be crowned with the iron crown; and on his return into Germany, before the diet, he saw a King of Italy, and son, present themselves as inferiors, to do him homage; and after doing so, they went back to reign there under his imperial protection; and Otho, again at Pavia, and re-crowned, proceeded thence to Rome, where he received the imperial diadem.

Let people then talk as they please, there are ancient precedents and long-established rights for such coronations. Moreover, it is to the emperors that the Italians owe all their subsequent liberties. This union of German and Italian destinies is what has saved both. Yet the Germans might perhaps have sufficed for themselves, but the Italians, assuredly not. Ideas imported from the north, were dear to even the latest accents of liberty in

Italy. But from feudalism, easy was the stride to despotism, which, within a few years, was to reign over the whole European continent.

Rude were the manners then ; man and wife ate off the same trencher ; a few wooden-handled knives, with blades of rugged iron, were a luxury for the great ; candles unknown. A servant girl held a torch at supper ; one, or at most, two mugs of coarse brown earthenware formed all the drinking apparatus in a house. Rich gentlemen wore clothes of unlined leather. Ordinary persons scarcely ever touched flesh meat. Noble mansions drank little or no wine in summer ; a little corn seemed wealth. Women had trivial marriage portions ; even ladies dressed extremely plain. The chief part of a family's expense was what the males spent in arms and horses, none of which however were either very good or very showy ; and grandees had to lay out money on their lofty towers. In Dante's comparatively polished times, ladies began to paint their cheeks by way of finery, going to the theatre, and to use less assiduity in spinning and plying their distaff. What is only a symptom of prosperity in large, is the sure sign of ruin in small states. So in Florence he might very well deplore, what in London or Paris would be to praise, or cause a smile. Wretchedly indeed

plebeians hovelled ; and if noble castles were cold, dark, and dreary everywhere, they were infinitely worse in Italy, from the horrible modes of torture ; characteristic cruelty, too frightful to dwell on. Few of the infamous structures, built at the times treated of, stand at present. Yet their ruins disclose rueful corners. As to cathedrals, the age for them, though at hand, had scarcely come in the tenth or eleventh century ; and when it did, it was simultaneously in Italy, England, France, and Germany.

If algebra was known in Italy in the tenth century (which might easily be, from the Moors), it was kept secret there for three hundred years ; not intentionally, it is said, but simply because the Italians were not aware of what an important thing they had. The archives of all the towns of Italy, before Barbarossa, having perished, leaves many matters obscure, which probably (as is to be wished) little deserve being known. Even when the Italian cities, without being exactly independent, appeared so, was it not that the emperors were too busy at home to march across the Alps to prevent them ? For though often independent *in fact*, they always acknowledged *in theory* that the emperor was their sovereign. It was only worse, before the Popes and popular party took the name

of Guelph, and the Imperialists that of Ghibelline. Barbarossa's was a time of cruel civil dissensions; and the story of *non tibi sed Petro* is utterly and decidedly false, though still is shown with pride at Venice the spot on which it occurred; and not unforgiving traitors, but stout-hearted patriots are they who never pardoned Barbarossa's line, though they had sworn it; but, in spite of having made a reconciliation with the uncle, never let any opportunity escape of making war on his nephew.

The spirit of chivalry, which was called the glorious inheritance of feudalism, in other lands, was reduced by the Italians to its real philosophic value; and on their disbanding their own armies, and taking the habit of carrying on their wars by their neighbours, cunning was to succeed in esteem to courage; and if several men of talent were to signalize Guicciardini's period, yet these were to act rather from calculation, than heroism or passion; from self-interest, not sentiment. That the Venetians were Italians at all, is denied by the best authority, Dante; not in his poetry, but in his worn-out day of fullest wisdom, in plain, cogent, diplomatic prose, probably the last lines he ever wrote.

How different from the Visigoths! The Lombard Latin was found by Sismondi so barbarous as

frequently to be quite illegible. And it is true of the lower Lombard, that if he conferred unlimited independence on all his citizens, he denied any whatever to those he held unworthy of being admitted into his citizenship. Regarding the Normans, why not rather sympathize with their matchless valour, than with the paltry natives, who, to clear their home from robbers and pirates, were obliged to have recourse to a handful of strangers? Not satisfied with Puglia and Calabria, and the honour of having put two emperors (both the western and eastern) to flight, Guiscard undertook to become Emperor of Constantinople himself; and, on his way, died in Cephalonia in 1085. Beginning with him, and ending with the Vespers, is it not all over? Who cares any more for Magna Grecia or Sicily? The brilliant Norman phantasmagoria has nothing in common with the lands in which it passes. But to all similar, farewell! and to philosophy, Christianity, or any religion, or anything of humanity, farewell the whole of you! Here resounds the shriek of shrieks! Here comes the king of unutterable terrors—Attila.

Illiterate, direst of savages, as yet buried in all the grossness of idolatry, reckless of every human tie or obligation, or pain or pleasure, here are the Huns who through Hungary, Bulgaria, Sclavonia,

Croatia, or whatever other devastated regions, have left one long line to track their whole road from the Scythian wilderness. Nothing of the Goth, but the very reverse (though by a casualty in some degrees contemporaries in time, but not in the least countrymen), wild, ferocious monsters who delight in creating antipathy and horror; and therefore have no objection at all to learn they are not reputed human, but vulgarly a cross between a necromancer and a she-wolf, or to pass for Gog and Magog, precursors of the day of judgment. How convey even the remotest idea of the deadly dismay and despair they caused? Every unfortified town, from Switzerland to the most southern extremity of Italy, was sacked first—then the whole of its population butchered—finally the walls and houses were all gutted and pulled down; and, the entire of its work effectually done, onward moved the hurricane! Destruction appeared their only desire! Everywhere was their passage marked by the clearest evidence, fuming ruins, property of all kinds utterly destroyed and dilapidated, and corpses all naked, and lakes of blood. But if, like the plague, nothing could stop them anywhere, they settled nowhere. And soon returned into Croatia, or beyond it, as they had come.

The first irruption of Huns was in 900; but

there were many during the two next centuries. When will there be another? And those who put that usual question shuddered, no one but shuddered. Until then, several Italian gentlemen and all the peasantry lived in the country; and the small towns were mostly unwalled. But from that hour every town was strongly walled, and every human creature slept within a town. The peasant went to work in the fields by day, but at sunset he had to seek refuge with his family within some town. Agriculture in such cases must go to ruin. Patience! Jesu Maria! from the sword of the Huns—libera nos, Domine! what a frightful litany, from Como to Otranto! And the bells never stopped ringing, as long as there were any; when the toll ceased, it was sure the Huns were there at work, and that the poor steeple would lie on the ground in a few minutes. Nor was it enough, but there were various other spoilers, all worthy of each other! Nor idolators only, but the Saracen heathens!

These last ravaging, not Naples alone, or Sicily, but likewise Piedmont, where a party of twenty of them drove all the Piedmontese before them; such terror breathed from the victors, so panic stricken the vanquished! not a captain in all Italy had the boldness to face either Huns or Saracens! And these both had the same way of making war.

Nothing but light cavalry, in small squadrons, without trying to make conquests. Not wishing to fight, but plunder and murder, they did what was consistent with those deeds of massacre to avoid their foe.

Though Huns and Saracens in their inroads often met, they never fought with each other. But seemed friends, and soon found out they were relations; for both Huns and Turks were Scythians, and once one people, they said; right proud of their mutual ugliness, and that they passed for looking more like wild beasts than the hideous negroes, or any kind of men. Now what deduce, but that Italy would rejoice for any change and think it an escape? What not preferable to such actual nudity and wretchedness—fear for the future that is close and impending—and horror at the past? If the Pope joins the cry, well; and his popularity, which is already great, will increase. He who has been always ready to assist her in her distress, will he hesitate now? Will the Papacy be but for the first time blind to such an extraordinary crisis, nor listen to the public voice? Merciful evermore, and just, and politic, will she not, at present also, side with the people—her own woe-begone people?

Who had repelled two dreadful attacks of the Arabs, and kept off all the believers in Mahomet

during their three first centuries (sternness of the Damascan Omyades, munificence of the Abassides) Constantinople had now a harder task. The author of the Koran himself, when weak, had recommended patience to his disciples; when stronger, to defend themselves if assailed; when powerful, the Koran or the sword. Yet such trying periods had passed away; and even the cruelty of the Fatimites ceased to be dangerous, and had been reduced to a remote sound. The last of the Caliphs at Bagdad died in 940 A.D.

But about a hundred years later appeared a far more ferocious race than the Prophet had ever dreamt of, the Turks vomited forth from the Scythian wilderness! These who, during their idolatry, had been the worst enemies of Islamism, finished by becoming Mussulmen, and, as such, overran India, Persia, all Syria, Mesopotamia, part of Africa, and the whole of Asia Minor; and were now only stopped by the sea facing the Greek metropolis, which when it ceases to be the bulwark, must become the road to Europe. A sound of reverential was in the Roman name, even to Turkish ears, as vaguely designating something superior to Constantinople; for when their sultan settled in Iconium, he called his kingdom Roum, as well as when he removed his capital to Nice, as nearer the prey on which he

gloated. A very brief though glorious struggle had been made by Eastern Christians; but in 1071 unfortunate Byzantium had its frightful assailants within sight, howling horribly along its suburban Asiatic coast—protected from them by that narrow slip of water alone.

But why not a few glimpses back into that long period? When St. Gregory, early in 600 A.D., objected to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch's being styled the universal bishop, as an antichristian title; was it not that he considered it misapplied, not as bad in itself—as applicable solely to the Pope *de jure*, though not then perhaps strong enough to wear it *de facto*; but not to the Patriarch under any circumstances? Was not this St. Gregory's tacit meaning, whether others think it an unfair pretension or not? Not to any Greek Emperor, but to Charlemagne, Haroun el Rascid sent the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, showing that, in the Moslem's opinion, the Emperor of the West, or France, is the natural protector of Palestine, and not the Greek; and however it has been since, so it was in that olden time. And thus all the nations of Christian Europe were comprised in the term *Franks*; although certainly the chief part of the population of both Constantinople and Jerusalem, were at that time Greeks, nearly as they are at present.

France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, formed the vast empire of the West; and like it was the Mahometan of many nations, from the Nile to the Indus. Nor was religion an impediment; for Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees to assist an Islamite Emir who had asked for his protection; nor Haroun el Rascid was without Christian subjects in numbers, Nestorians, Jacobites, Greeks, and Roman Catholics, and others; whence a liberal toleration was quite as necessary to him as to Charlemagne, as they no doubt both felt.

As soon as the forty-sixth year of Mahometanism, the Arabs had besieged Constantinople; and in 718 the same, without success, principally from the Greek fire, the destructive discovery of a Syrian or Egyptian, who deserted to the Greeks, bringing his secret with him; since which, these crafty Christians kept hidden the way of making it. It was a matter of conscience, a revelation from Heaven. Prince and subject, each religiously bound not to divulge the saving mystery. Grand in the extreme was the Grecian Court—its Varangian guards, famous for their splendid costume, and lofty size, and undaunted fidelity, were all Danes, Norwegians, or English. Its Emperor was the first slave of the ceremonial he so rigidly ordained; his every

word and gesture regulated both in his palace and country house. This worse than monkish severity of life, and that few of his rank ever died a natural death, but that murders and conspiracies were of nightly occurrence within the imperial residence, endears the more the lot of a private citizen.

Strange, too, the destiny that forces its historian to avow that, in spite of its multitudes of law-doctors and libraries, and all its scientific and literary establishments, not one discovery was ever made at Constantinople, during a period of a thousand years, in favour of the dignity or happiness of man, "nor a single idea added to the speculations of antiquity." Even then ran the prophecy that *in the last days* barbarians should take Constantinople, which Mr. Gibbon calls "an unambiguous and unquestionable date," and which, it appears, has not been supposed executed by Mahomet (though I thought so, or might have), but stands good still with most persevering superstition.

The Magna Grecia of Pythagoras, which had been rich and full of free cities, and great artists and philosophers, had dwindled into poverty and its usual concomitants, ignorance and superstitious habits, when the Normans lifted it for a short time in the ninth century; but now in the eleventh, it had returned again into terror and obscurity.

What could oppose the torrent rushing forward? Not Arabs are they, or any of the milder and more civilized Moslem; but the Turks, Turcomans, or Seljukides, as some call them, from one of their chiefs of the name of Seljuk, the wildest of the savages of Turkestan, that region of Scythia which stretches northward from the Caspian in one frightful waste, that only terminates with the Polar Sea. Nor will they recede; but as they already had mastered India and Persia, and the Caliphs, they at present pouring destruction on Asia Minor, are to do the same with Constantinople at last, and all Greece.

In Hindostan it was a Turk that surpassed the conquests of Alexander, and the title of Sultan was invented about 1000 A.D. for him; whom a wilder tribe of his own countrymen soon vanquished. He had invited them with suspicion, but was not suspicious enough. Nor after that could the Tigris, or Euphrates, or Nile stay them; nor the Persian mountains, nor Taurus. Had they not passed the snowy Caucasus and the eternal Imäus? A Togrul from the throne of Darius sent a messenger to the Emperor of Constantinople, to require tribute and obedience. To Togrul succeeded his nephew, Alp-Arslan, who found some resistance from the unfortunate but heroic Romanus; not unworthy of the Empire of the East—nor of his French allies,

and Norman and Scotch. Some brave hearts, deserving to be called Grecians, were to be found to the last, in the city of Constantine—not only its final Christian Emperor, who expired as became him—but likewise the captive, Romanus. “What treatment do you expect?” asked Alp-Arslan. “If cruel, you will torture me to death,” replied the dauntless sovereign. “If proud, you will drag me at your horse’s heels. If avaricious, you will put a price on my liberty!” “And what would you have done with me?” subjoined the victorious Scythian. “Ah! I would have got you scourged finely,” outburst the fearless and indignant Emperor. On which the Turk smiled; and muttering about the Christian law prescribing mercy, ordained that the champion of the Cross should that instant be set free, and peace established, on the promise that an immense sum should be paid for his ransom and a large annual tribute, with an intermarriage between the Turkish and Imperial houses, and freedom for every Mahometan in the hands of the Greeks.

This agreement, hard as it was, the mournful prisoner had to sign; and disheartening it is to be obliged to add that his subjects refused to pay his ransom, but left him to pine an exile, and as such deposed, and—as far as was in them—dishonoured

him. And though upon these tidings, his liberator did not withdraw the boon he had already given, but pitied him and pardoned the ransom, Romanus died almost immediately, and the generous savage was assassinated in Transoxiana some months later in the same year, 1072. After him came his son, and then his grandson, Malek-Sha; of whose three younger brothers, one had the Persian province of Kerman; another, Syria; and the third, Asia Minor, which quickly slipped from him; and, to avoid a civil war, he was obliged to cede it to his cousin Solyman, whose kingdom of Roum extended from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus. In this manner, Solyman and his heir apparent, Kislig-Arslan, were the tremendous lords of the inhuman hordes that, towards the close of the eleventh century, crowded all along the Asiatic edge of the cerulean tide that bathes the walls of Constantinople.

A voice of woful entreaty had been directed to the West. But conscious of their having never been friendly but in times of trouble, of their own frequent ingratitude, and former exaggerations, the Greeks asked themselves whether it would be heard now? Or even so, would it not be too late? This very evening one of the Turks could be seen putting down his foot towards the waves; but he

drew it back scowling towards us, as if between dread and desire; fortunately they are without a single boat—but who knows what curious contrivance they may discover? Who at sunset can tell but long before sunrise they will have got across the straits somewhere? And then we have no resource, but are lost, utterly lost and undone! Murmuring and conspiring, the unhappy, but garrulous and dissolute Greeks, pushed to it by the extremity of their despair, supplicated whom they deeply hated.

CHAPTER II.

Now such being the universal spirit of Christendom, a consequence somewhat analogous could not but ensue. It is the only time that history presents us a simultaneous unison of so many nations; and who knows if such a sight will ever come again? With all its defects, it has certainly an air of majesty that cannot be put down by any sneer. Sneers are the trophies of what is grand. Homer and Virgil (but not their inferiors) have been travestied. What was so often in Napoleon's mouth is eminently true; "From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step." It may be ridiculous to call ridicule a test of truth. Yet is it the sincerest homage to truth—unwilling homage.

Nor was it Christendom alone, but also the Mahometans had been long undergoing a not dissimilar preparation. Whatever be the doctrines deduced by subsequent commentators from the Koran, that book itself has much more of moral severity than sensualism, and shows so thorough a knowledge of both the Testaments that it has been reported it was from a monk called Gabriel that Mahomet had his inspirations, though he pretends it was the archangel of that name.

The *sonna* or oral law was reduced to writing two centuries after Mahomet; so the absurdities it may contain are no more to be imputed to him, than the fables of the Talmud to the Patriarchs. A collection of seventy-two thousand old popular customs and tales may easily furnish food of every kind. But is it a refined taste to select for publication whatever of most shockingly indecent can be discovered in that anonymous farrago or any of its impure appendages? Is it just to charge the Koran with that superfluous filth? Let the Koran stand on its own merits; or if to be condemned, be condemned for its own faults. Plurality of wives existed in Arabia long before Mahomet, nor could he have abolished it, if he wished; but he found adultery common, and he vigorously forbade it; and put an end to drunkenness also, and instituted

prayers to the living God, instead of the idolatry of the Caaba. It is no approval of his tenets, to refuse accusing him falsely. Who grieve he went no further towards true religion, may praise him, as far as he went. That the Koran is the most classic of the language has been long ago decided, on the best possible authority and beyond all appeal—that of the whole Arab people themselves.

It is no defect of his, if, notwithstanding our cherished ideas of Oriental magnificence and an established reputation for richness, and that the Arabs have a great idea of their own superiority in everything, and contempt for all who do not speak Arabic and wear any other dress, still the Arab tongue is very poor. Will it be believed that a warlike nation has no word for *garrison*? Yet so it is, and hundreds of such deficiencies. For the Arabic in general has but one word for each thing, including all its varieties. For which I have the authority of one of the most learned Orientalists of France—Renaud, in his preface to the Arabian Chronicles. If the Ommydes were harsh and audacious, beginnings are proverbially so, and the Fatimites were weak and falling, and may have imbibed the credulous cruelty of Egypt; but the Abassides and Spain can tell whether in its best times Mahometanism was remarkable for intole-

rance. Nor does it not savour of tolerance, that Mahomet admits of an exception in favour of those of the *Book*, by which most understand the old Testament, which includes all Christians—and some, all who believe in God and have a written law. The superstitious corruptions of the Turks and their ferocious barbarity must go to their own account. No doubt but they were at least as superstitious as the most illiterate of the Christians could be; and the Turkish annalists recount very gravely how angels or even legions of angels joined Islam's ranks during battle; and at almost every important event the same writers accompany it with an eclipse of the sun, darkness over the whole globe, and the stars visible at broad noon day. The Turks had probably been worse when idolators in Scythia, both as to superstition and fierceness; and those of them who had become a little effeminate and luxurious, also lost something of their native coarseness.

The Arabian historians themselves avow that in the eleventh century the whole East exhibited frightful disorder; that it was indeed the most disastrous of the periods; that the empire founded by the successor of Mahomet had melted away; and a wild race from the depths of Tartary reigned over the most delicious of the countries held once

by the Arab; that the Turks or Turcomans under the children of Seljuk had taken Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor, and were now menacing at once Cairo and Constantinople; that nevertheless the population of nearly all the towns taken by the Turks in Anatolia, continued for the chief part Christians, Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Georgian; while the victors, habituated to the freedom of a nomade life, preferred dwelling in tents in the open fields, taking care of the cattle along with some tribes of Arab origin, and that all that remained of the famous Arabian Empire was Egypt, with a few fragments of Africa and Spain.

As early as 1010 the Turks had commenced speaking of a Christian army preparing to march against them, *exercitus Francorum super Saracenos orientales commotos*; and at the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre then, certain stones glittered and resisted the fire like diamonds, which, without any miracle, might really be. Signs in the skies had told the Turks repeatedly that the West was going to rise against them; and at last in 1062, a meeting was held at Omar's Mosque in Jerusalem, for the Moslem doctors to study in the Koran for an explanation of what had been seen and could still be seen in the air; and these wise men, after gazing up intently from morning until night, declared

it was clear that the constellations prophesied great disorders; 'and all these expounders of the law agreed, that some dark prediction was thus foreshadowed of people, who seemed to be Christians, seizing on much of the true believers' lands, after immense victories. And every one drew the consequence, that something of great importance was at hand, since announced by such prodigies.

In truth, it is in a Mahometan mouth that I first observe the words *holy war*, calling on all Mussulmen to leave off discord among themselves, and unite in a *holy war* against the Greek; words used in about 1084, and in that very Asia Minor, and assented to by that very same Solyman, whom (or son) any army from Constantinople would have first to encounter; sanguinary Turks, lately Mahometans, and still savages, who had never seen any better Christians than Greeks, Syrians, and defenceless pilgrims, and therefore scorned and hated Christianity. These were the hyenas and lions, leopards, tigers, crowding down to the Asiatic margin of the Sea of Marmora, snuffing for blood along it, as if round where travellers have pitched their nightly camp, defended by fires in the desert.

The opinion of most Christians then was, that the end of the world was at hand; but all people

were in expectance of some great event, no one knew what, yet something surpassing human vicissitudes. To popular imagination it seemed that all nature was busy announcing by prodigies of every sort and every day what was the will of Heaven, and proclaiming it too clearly and loudly for any to misunderstand. Human laws were as nothing to those who conceived themselves called on by the voice of God. Moderation was cowardice; indifference, treason; opposition, sacrilege. Subjects scarcely recognised their sovereigns, and slave and master were all one to Christians. Domestic feelings, love of country, family, and every tender affection of the heart, were to be sacrificed to the ideas and reasonings that carried away all Europe.

The whole West resounded with these holy words: "Whosoever bears not his cross, nor follows me, is unworthy of me!" So, when the hermit began riding on his mule from town to town, from province to province, a crucifix in his hand, his feet naked, his cowl thrown back, leaving his head quite bare, his lank body girt with a piece of coarse rope over his long, rugged cassock, with a pilgrim's mantle of the commonest stuff, the singularity of his attire, austerity of his manners, and his charity, had a great effect upon the people, and the morality he preached; and caused his being

everywhere revered as a saint, and followed with enthusiasm by a great crowd, showing him a reverence not dissimilar to what Mahometans of our own day have shown a *Haggi* just returned from Mecca, or beyond, where their prophet sleeps in Medina.

Nor that poorly-dressed envoy of Christianity, preaching alike in churches, fields, market-places, found a scanty or unwilling auditory when he descanted on the dangers, insults, afflictions, he had undergone, and far worse, those he had been a tearful eye-witness of, where so many of their fellow-Christians were doomed to suffer all kinds of ill-treatment and bitter scoffs, and horrid tortures for their religion; and he called upon them by all they held dear, or deserving tenderness or veneration, and in the name of Him whom they feared and worshipped, and His Divine, immaculate, and far above all the rest of creation, most blessed mother, and the God-head of her uncreated Son, that thrice-sacred Redecmer, that dearest Lord Jesus; when in His sempiternal unearthly cause, he summoned every professor of this heavenly creed, to join hand in hand, without any distinction of country, sex, condition, rank, as the best preparation for that mighty day of judgment that was surely very near, in one immense crusade to expel those infidel dogs

from where He left His mortal remains for our prayers and consolation, and to which no Christian but has undoubtedly a full right to go for that worthiest of purposes, and far greater right than any person can have to any earthly inheritance from any mortal parent, or any lands from a worldly father, or houses, or money, or chattels; for this is from his omnipotent, immortal Father, whose recompense is utterly superior to all earthly value, and can never die; road which was made and decreed by no creatures mortal or immortal, but the Infinite Being's self, and therefore ought most rightfully, by all laws, human and divine, to be left free for all Christians, the poorest and feeblest, as well as the richest and most powerful, and not, if they venture, be exposed to injury, whips, and death; when he thus conjured and supplicated with most piteous exclamations, and tears and gestures of the wildest enthusiasm, he let loose a torrent that no one in his senses could even attempt to stem.

It had long been pent up; but he has now (perhaps carelessly) unsluiced it. And if it can be guided, that tremendous gush, the Lord alone knows. Yet men only heard what they were ready for; and those of any wealth or foresight began their outfit at once. Not a single syllable, I will not say of

doubt, but even of delay. Thousands upon thousands were in readiness to depart forthwith. It required the hermit himself to persuade them to wait for a few months, that estates might be sold or mortgaged, and that the lowest classes that possessed anything, should convert their furniture and household goods into a little money.

Yet, where all wished to sell, and none to buy, what but hamper themselves, each with as much as ever he could, and leave the rest for any person that should pass? Heaps of articles strewed every road in Europe, and lay neglected, though they would have been all stolen at any other time; but now the meanest mendicant refused to lose a moment by looking on them. What was proposed to all, and was the duty of all, was so paramount to arms, provisions, horses, ships, in the apprehension of millions, that they smiled at such superfluous cares, and held them in supreme disdain. Yet some had the prudence to occupy themselves a little with these trifles, nor every head of a family deemed it praiseworthy to renounce his duties of providing for those whom his Creator had confided to his administration; it were a tempting of Providence! But no further deferring than was absolutely necessary.

To every class of the community the crusade

became the great business of life—the only real business—all things else were playthings for children. This was the mighty, universal law, absorbing or comprehending all other laws, civil, criminal, ecclesiastical, military, political, international. These all were mere gewgaws, or primers in comparison. Nor was there any exception even for the clergy; since they were men too! as pious and learned as you will, but still men—like ourselves in substance, mere mortal men, and bound to worship Christ and prepare for doomsday, make their souls, and get in order for salvation.

Put Satan to flight, is what is of importance. There is but one way to do this—come on the crusade. The rest is tinsel; crown or tiara, alike all tinsel. So the priests, far from inciting their parishioners, had only to follow them, and were obliged to follow them whether they wished it or not; nor when the Pope convened the councils, was either of them his own doing. His Holiness could not have acted otherwise. Certainly a large portion of the wisest and most religious of the clergy of all ranks beheld these puritanical tumults with disapprobation, and feared for the contaminating effect of such a mixture of both sexes, and of the most devout and pure young people with the impure, repentant, and perhaps not repentant re-

probates. But what could those virtuous and most prudent pastors do? No one seemed to have any time for reflection. Everywhere all was ferment and effervescence.

Even sagacious elderly men and women appeared to have lost all power over themselves or others. Nor did not some individuals act from baser motives than holiness or zeal; although the vast majority did act from these laudable motives, and no others; even owning that their zeal was often blind, and no few of the vicious really were reclaimed. But there were not wanting sprinklings of hypocrisy, and what is probably worse, a profuse assortment of iniquitous wretches, male and female, who neither changed, nor intended, nor pretended to change their lives! Swearers, cursers, pick-pockets, highwaymen, robbers of every description, murderers, whole parties of the most scandalous of ruffians, and the vilest Delilahs and Jezebels, and such like, who embraced the adventure as a glorious speculation, resolved on the very reverse of any amendment of manners; but to make the most of the opportunity, in the sense of rejecting all restraint, and throwing the loosest reign to every one of their most shameless passions.

The unfortunate priest, forced to participate in the sure destruction and disgrace of such a

squad, had an awful duty. Nor imagine possible that his mild voice could be heard in that outrageous confusion. Total ruin could scarcely not ensue. Undoubtedly there were persons who reprobated the crusade from the beginning, and perceived that such a reckless frenzy augured nothing good. To them it was a terrific hurricane. But, on discovering the evident impossibility of stopping it (which they soon discovered), they in every way favoured it. Some of them might even think it were self-love to suppose they saw so much better than others, and therefore joined the cry sincerely, though against their own judgment. But that this cry was in the spirit of the times, is a manifest deduction from the former pilgrims.

As often happens in great events, a strange and mighty presentiment had invaded all the nations in Europe for nearly a century; a growing disquietude that at last broke out at the same instant everywhere, north, south, east, west. Also the Turks had their presentiments, as noted. Nor was it the eloquence of the hermit, who was not eloquent, and soon was flung aside by the very crusade he had preached; for success was then considered proof of a Divine mission, and he was unsuccessful; but men were ripe for his words. It only required a word, and he said it. It was soon given. Any

one else would have done as well. It was a moment too when adventurers, and idlers, and vagabonds, were unusually numerous, in consequence of the recent civil wars and discharged armies; and bands of robbers and famishing soldiery were roving everywhere at discretion. When all at once, as if at the wave of some conjurer's wand, crimes and all illegal proceedings ceased, and merged into the crusade; and Europe enjoyed, during some months, a peace she had not known for a long time. Almost everything virtuous and everything vicious took the same direction. Not one plunderer, robber, murderer was any more to be found within the precincts of all Europe. One only thought and deed pervaded every community. Nothing else was worth alluding to.

Great and little, poor and rich, literate and illiterate, folly and wisdom, males and females, parents and children, sovereign and subjects, priests and people—all had no other grave concern. Soon was there nothing but mutual encouragement, and who at first had blamed it as madness, became at last fully as mad as the rest. Impatient all to sell their property, and none to purchase but what was portable. What could not be carried was destroyed, and in like manner much provisions, which produced a famine. Kings were shelved for awhile,

or if they resolved to sell or mortgage their dominions or rid themselves of them in any way—even by gift—they imitated the multitude, and joined the crusade as individuals; so they could manage to be lent money enough to buy a battle horse, it filled them with delight to enroll as a common crusader.

The heir apparent of England jumped to pledge Normandy, and left his birthright to his younger brother. Fortunately none of the great European monarchs could so easily make away with their realms, or create a national debt, to squander it; but as they were obliged to wait a little, and put their finances in some order—though resolved to take their turn, and set out as soon as the others came back—yet being of the last, they only went after men had in some degree regained their senses. But in this first crusade they could take no part, but were constrained to remain at home—sadly against their wishes—and considered themselves unhappy, and considered so by others, who sincerely bewailed their piteous lot, and the miserable elevation which condemned them to be a sacrifice for the public, and defer their felicity, and descend to the second place. Poor sovereigns, no longer in the highest, but at this most important crisis, in a quite inferior station!

The cross was the only real resource for every one, and equalled every one. If it was against the ancient discipline for the clergy to bear arms, yet that this was admitted to be an exceptional case was highly beneficial to the crusades. If a novelty, and in ordinary occurrences uncanonical, a holy war made a difference. Devoted wives followed their husbands, or induced them to permit it. Some wives asked for no permission, but their own will; and on such an excursion, no one dared to blame them. Married or unmarried pairs, set out on the adventure together, no fault could be found with them. Some priests might possibly have Asian bishopricks in their heads, even in a few instances it was so certainly; but nevertheless they stuck to their flocks, and preached the same heavenly doctrines they had always preached. Ambition also might have had much to do with several of the leaders who were laymen, and dreamed of crowns and empires in Asia, and remembered that a little nosegay of Normans had conquered Sicily and Puglia.

But notwithstanding all deductions, yet was religious enthusiasm the first and principal cause of this crusade; and put the whole Christian world in motion. Lands, castles, houses, ceasing all at once to be of any value, might well be given away

gratis to the few who were so unhappy as to be obliged to remain at home. Domains worth little or nothing, are donations that can be accepted by even a king, so as they contribute to assuage his poignant and most reasonable grief—wretched lords—pitiable indeed their lot! The terrified Greeks, who had been sent ambassadors to the Council of Claremont, had no use for their fine harangues, but obtained a great deal more than they asked or desired. A small aid of ten thousand men or so, was all they thought of, and they beheld with perhaps some dismay, that whole nations were to flock through their country.

The first squad to whom I will not do Cromwell's wildest, the injustice to compare them (for those English fanatics were sedate prudent old gentlemen to those who under the hermit himself and his worthy associate, Sansavoir—without a penny or pennyworth—pushed off on their march in one vast irregular multitude, men and women) nearly all of the lowest classes—chiefly beggars, and knaves, and cut-throats, and virulent democrats, fanatical revellers and hypocrites, without food or money, or honesty or common sense, and imperfectly armed with long rusty knives and ancient scabbardless swords, more like saws, and greasy monks the best of them, and sturdy clowns and peasant girls, and

the majority drunkards male and female, and lawless perpetrators of the grossest debauchery of every description, most of them pell mell, on foot, half-naked, with only ten horses amongst such thousands, and the most reputable in various carts and waggons drawn by their usual teams or plough cattle, and little or no provisions; for it would have been an insult to the Almighty to have done otherwise, in the estimation of the religiously mad, who furnishes the birds with food ; and the wicked having determined on ill-treating, robbing, sacking every creature, house and town they should come to, were extremely glad of that valid excuse.

Early in the spring of 1096, it was quite out of all possibility to restrain their impatience. Penitence the most austere and sincere, and piety the most fervent, were henceforth to associate with the grossest impurity, and every kind of low gaiety, worldly, and disfigured with vice. From the Tiber to the Northern Ocean, from the Danube to Portugal, all were hurrying to the crusade. These all in tears who were to remain in Europe, those marching towards Asia showed nothing but smiles of hope and joy. At every village they saw, the children kept asking, *Is that Jerusalem?* Happy in their ignorance, not a word of reason came from old or young, clerk or layman; nor did any one

express astonishment at what now surprises us. All were actors; there was no audience, posterity were to be that. Immense armies, many of them, might have been formed out of that multitude; enough, and far more than enough. But the chief captains agreed among themselves to set about making the preparations absolutely necessary, and then to take different roads, and meet again at Constantinople.

But first of all was it requisite to skim off the dross, and rid themselves of that heterogeneous and most unmilitary crowd. All the various gangs of that description were to proceed in three divisions. So the Heaven-elected hermit's insane squad, that was to form the first division, departed instantly with Sansavoir leading the vanguard. The zealous Cenobite, as fit for the mad hospital as any of them, convinced that a good hot will is enough to insure success in war, and that the undisciplined mob would obey his voice, figured at the head of that oddest of columns, in his woollen gown, and with cowl and sandals, riding jovially that same she mule which had carried him over all Europe—England included. But he had outriders with his penniless lieutenant, who had been followed close by two of the horsemen; so there were only eight horses to be scattered through the main body.

Altogether this division comprised at least a hundred thousand men, followed by a long train of rude vehicles, women, children, and the old, sick, or decrepid, or valetudinarians; all relying on the miraculous promises of their more than Moses. For their holy Peter needed but to tread where he had trod already. They expected that the rivers would open to let them pass, manna fall from Heaven to feed them.

The commanders were as miserable as their soldiers. To the East asking alms! And as long as they were in France or Germany, they were not wrong in their expectations; for they were fed by the charitable. Not so in Hungary; although its king had been known to the hermit on his way home from Jerusalem, when that new convert had heard with sympathy of the poor palmer's sufferings. But his Majesty was now dead; nor did his successor, though a recent Christian also, and in correspondence with the Pope, look with a kindly eye on these lawless crusaders; nor the Bulgarians, though Christians likewise, would recognise the desperate fellows as their brethren, but treated them worse than they had ever treated former pilgrims.

Cold charity was quickly over; so the crusaders, not contented with stealing, or with the strong hand seizing, the cattle, and driving them off

openly, or sacking cottages, set them on fire, insulted, beat, or even murdered the peasantry; and acted in like manner towards the outskirts of some towns, whereupon the terrified and irritated Bulgarians rushed to arms, and cut many of the others to pieces—to say nothing of sixty whom they burned in a church to which they had fled for protection, but perhaps deserved to find none; on which Sansavoir struck off into the forests and wildernesses. Nevertheless a considerable portion of the wretched fore-runners got to Constantinople, and remained two months under its walls; the emperor wisely refusing to let them inside the gates, but permitting them to wait there for the hermit, where they sordidly could keep soul and body together, on the coarsest food, doled out to them with the unkindest parsimony.

At length the hermit had reached Semlin—city called by him Maleville, from the bad reception it offered them—namely sixteen, not indeed corpses, but arms and garments of so many of their own vanguard by way of a scare-crow, to deter them from following the example of those culprits; at which he in a rage gave the signal for war, and at the blast of a trumpet the desperate assailants slew forty thousand of the peaceable inhabitants. Which horrid atrocity made the King of Hungary

advance with a large army. But before his arrival, hermit and congregation had all run away and contrived to cross the Save—where they found villages and towns abandoned—even Belgrade without a creature. Every one had sought refuge in the hills and woods. Thence onward did our famishing crowd labour sadly; and at last approached with expectations that were to be frustrated, the fortified town of Nyssa; but alas! they could not enter, and were only given some little food beneath its walls, on their promise of forthwith proceeding without perpetrating any misdemeanour; but a party of them, “certain children of Belial,” whom a chronicler calls Germans, recklessly firing some windmills in the vicinity belonging to the citizens, these, vexed beyond all longer endurance, rushed out against the rear and put multitudes to death, and likewise took numbers of prisoners—mothers and infants, many of whom were found living there in bondage several years after. The miserable remnant crept forwards—without either food or arms, and so reduced in numbers, found themselves in a far worse condition than ever.

But this extreme misery produced pity, which answered better than force; and the Greek Emperor charitably sent what enabled them to reach the walls of Constantinople. Yet the Greeks, not liking the

Latins—and pardonably enough, if to judge by this sample—interiorly applauded the courageous Bulgarians; though the emperor himself not fearing the garrulous Peter, nor his corps, now unarmed and in the rags of indigence, advised them, with as much condescension as sincerity, to wait for the Prince of the Crusade.

But the second division had yet to come. This resembled the hermit's, but rather worse. They were, for the most part, from the north of the Rhine, and towards the Elbe, and led by a priest of the Palatinate, of the name of Gotschalk. Wholly occupied with robbing, and all kinds of pillage, rapes, quarrels, murders, these worthies soon forgot Constantinople, Jerusalem, Jesus Christ himself. If any of them had ever had any religion, they certainly soon lost the least traces of it. Not a law, human or Divine, did they consider sacred. They were quite hurried away by their passions. The slenderest temptation was irresistible to them. Their ferocity was accompanied by imbecility, and would have worn itself out probably, but that they fell victims to perfect barbarity, nor could expect to be saved by the laws of humanity, which they had broken themselves.

Yet was there a third division of such frightful eminence in iniquity, anarchy, sedition, that no one

had the hardihood to be its captain. These desperadoes scorned every obedience, civil, military, ecclesiastical—all to them a grievous yoke. And they would have none, but would live and die as free as born. What property does a baby carry into the world? or a corpse out of it? What lawgivers have they? Choosing to believe that the crusade washed away all sins, they committed the most heinous crimes with the utmost indifference and a safe conscience. With a fanatical pride—or they feigned it—they despised and assaulted every one who did not join their march. Not all the riches on earth were sufficient to recompense their self-devotedness; let God and the Church know that—in whose service they are—the only service they acknowledge. They declared themselves *the Volunteers of Heaven*, and would not hear of any mixture of what is human. All that should fall into their hands was rightfully their own, and but a small part of what was due to them; an anticipated quota of the arrears of their pay, so much taken from the heathen. Of the lands they were traversing, they were themselves the true owners. The proprietors should thank them, if they left anything, and were in reality their debtors.

From such principles, you may imagine what followed. This furious troop moved disorderly;

and obeyed but the fits of their own insanity. They observed peremptorily that it was an enormous wrong to go against those who profaned the tomb of Christ, without first slaying who had crucified Him. Miraculous or pretended visions so inflamed their hate and horror and all their diabolical appetites, that they massacred all the Jews on their line of march with the most abominable and unnatural tortures. So the contents of each miserable Jewry craved for death as other men for life. But the boon without preamble of being tortured was rarely or never granted.

Since they could find no captain, they took a goose and made it march at their head, strutting pompously with a wave of its body and bobbing the pinnacle of its long windpipe, or a goat with a coquelico ribbon round its neck; and ascribed something of divine to it, and assured astonished beholders, that it was equal to any priest or bishop. For which impudent jeer they are condemned by the chroniclers more than for their deeds of tremendous guilt. This carnage of the unresisting Jews inebriated such felons, and made them as proud as if they had vanquished the Saracens. But the Hungarians exercised their implacable swords on this division to a man. At least only

a very few individuals of it lived to join the hermit under the Constantinopolitan bastions.

With this offal and what remained of all three of the divisions, re-inforced by Normans, Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, and others that he had picked up, he formed a new army of a hundred thousand, quite as undisciplined, and simple, and wicked as his first, and at the head of this collection the hermit set out along with his aide-de-camp Sansavoir, to try a fresh campaign, not unlike Don Quixote and Sancho Panza making for their second excursion. Many who left home pious, their piety went out on the road. Bold men get the upper hand, and bad example gives the law. Thus their robberies roused Constantinople, and even various churches in its suburbs suffering for their neighbourhood, the emperor was engaged to give them ships to transport them into Asia, without any further delay; when advancing with the same temerity as before, a Turkish army cut them to pieces — poor Sansavoir was run through the body ten several times, and the hermit in a most cowardly manner escaped — and in one single day that whole vast gathering disappeared, and left only a great heap of bones in a valley near Nice.

So Europe was horror struck at learning that of four hundred thousand crusaders she had sent out,

all were totally butchered. Yet the extermination of their less worthy parts, only increased the spirit-stirring glow of heroic and religious chivalry. The brilliant epoch of the holy war now begins. The princes of the crusade had not been yet ready. With Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, at their head, gathered nearly all the most illustrious captains of the time, and in a mass the nobility of France, and of both banks of the Rhine, and many of the English, and indeed of all Europe. No wonder then that the price of a war horse rose to an excessive height, the funds of a good estate hardly sufficing to arm and mount a single knight.

Germans and Hungarians were shown quite a different sight from the hermit's army, which was only a villainous mob—and re-established the honour of the crusaders in every land they went through. Hungary and Bulgaria wished Godfrey success; and he deplored the bad conduct and severe chastisement of those who had preceded him, but he did not once attempt to avenge their cause. Nor is his conduct or of any of the crusade to be ascribed to deep political views, for such matters were utterly unknown to them.

But what was purely accidental in those remote times, became to posterity, who judged of it by their own wisdom, the product of long foresight.

The brother of the King of France and the King of England's eldest son, were there mingled with their equals or superiors, many of them of the noblest birth and qualities, and as unambitious as themselves. Several of the others nourished views of earthly ambition no doubt, yet was it ambition of a very lofty kind. Monarchies, empires, diadems, and the summit of military reputation, might enter for some share, and mix with their religious feelings—even without their knowing it; still Vermandois and Robert of Normandy had no projects whatever, but heaven and glory.

Going round by Rome, the crusaders were so scandalized to see the soldiery of a Pope and of an Antipope fighting for the Lateran, the capital of Christianity serving as the theatre of a civil war, that some of them refused to go any further, and returned home. Profounder thinkers reflecting that in this life a portion of the human must ever unite with the best of the divine, and that inasmuch as it is human, it must be subject to imperfections—whence it is written, “the just man falls seven times a-day,” endeavoured to shut their eyes, and after saying their prayers and visiting the curiosities, hurried away; and all the divisions of that mighty army soon met at Constantinople.

And most sumptuously were they treated in that

celebrated metropolis, and entered it with all honours, and every demonstration of joy and public welcome. Only it was expected they would do homage to the emperor, which the Count of Toulouse refused, declaring he had not come so far to look for a master. Yet by surprise or cunning something that could be explained into homage, was worked out of him, and all of them—though an idle inane show. Tancred was the single exception, and he hastened his departure as the only way to avoid taking what at present was termed nothing, but might afterwards be construed into an oath of allegiance to Alexis. The brave generous Tancred was right. He was a Norman, and would have no breath on Norman honour.

Amidst such amplitude of luxury, and a constant variety of splendid amusements, few of the crusaders but seemed to have forgotten the Turks; nearly all but Godfrey, who at last asked for boats. And the Latins crossed the Bosphorus, and had advanced but a few leagues in Asia Minor, when they accosted some slaves who had left Europe with the hermit; and further on, towards Nice, a quantity of human bones told of that slaughter. That unfortunate Christian multitude had never been buried. Wolves and vultures had well consumed their flesh. So, in sad silence, the heroes

of the cross continued their march. It was a sight to end all discord, and put a curb on every worldly ambition—at least for a time; but only warmed their zeal for the holy war. So they took Nice, and won the glorious battle of Doryleum—Michaud's *chef d'œuvre*—where the valiant Duke of Normandy acquired great distinction. "O France, my delicious France, who art, indeed, superior to every other country," sang the Troubadour, "how surpassingly beautiful were the tents of thy soldiers in Romanie!" which shows that the crusaders had tents, and were not left to needlessly bivouac in the open air, and so sicken and die—whereas we never read of the hermit's tents, or Gotschalk's. It is certain they had none. But it is also certain that tents are no superfluous expense, but in every way befitting warriors. The soldier not exposed unnecessarily to the damp nights, will be the abler to endure them when it is necessary. The contrary is but a foolish, beggarly, modern pretence to what is misnamed economy. It is no economy at all, but a positive loss, not only of life but of money.

This crusade was therefore equipped as hardy warriors ought to be; and in this sense it may be doubted if the world ever possessed a fairer army than that led by Godfrey, the victors of Nice and

Doryleum. When they took the Turkish camp, at this latter place, they found camels, animals till then unknown in Europe. It was July 1st, 1097. The Franks praised the Turks highly; and vaunted of their common origin. And chroniclers avow that, were the Turks but Christians, they would be equal to the crusaders; that is, the bravest, wisest, ablest soldiers in the world. What the Turks thought is evident from their attributing the victory to a miracle. "And what wonder since St. George and St. Demetrius were with our enemy? One sees you do not know the Franks," said Kilzig-Arslan to the Arabs, who blamed his retreat, "you have never experienced their astonishing bravery; such power is not human—but comes either from God or the devil."

On the next day but one after, the crusaders renewed their march eastward, nor found any more resistance throughout all Asia Minor, so completely had it been terrified by the day of Doryleum, to which was now to be added the approach of the main body of the Frank army, to both of which was it owing that Tancred, with two or three hundred cavalry, galloping rapidly about, took town after town, the whole of Cilicia, and up to the south of Scanderoon; killing every Turk without repose or mercy. In Asia Minor had

Florine, the Duke of Burgundy's daughter, disappeared with the young Crown Prince of Denmark, and if it gave rise to much fable and rumours, yet for certain where and how they ended was never discovered; though her afflicted father went seeking her over all the then known world for several years. And if Tasso relates how they died, it is that they offered a fair field for imagination—the perhaps grandest and most difficult of a poet's attributes. What is uncertain is *common* to everybody, and open to invention; *difficile est, proprie communia dicere*; it is in some sort a creation, and makes him (what he is in no sense otherwise) a creator.

But early in Asia had the crusaders begun following the hideous example of the Turks, in cutting off the heads of the slain, and riding with them dangling from their pommels, and threw a thousand of them at the enemy within Nice, with their besieging engines; and, filling sacks with another thousand heads, sent them as a present to the Greek Emperor.

But while Tancred was so cleverly employed in Cilicia, Baldwin (Godfrey's next brother, and the English Queen's father), devoured with ambition, and thinking the East had better things than any to be expected at Jerusalem, or accomplishment of

his vow at the Holy Sepulchre, set out by night to avoid the remonstrances of his friends, who all dissuaded him from that wild and shameful breach of his solemn compact, leading a small body of two thousand volunteers to assail one of the many fine cities and countries pointed out to him from the top of a lofty mountain by a fugitive Armenian adventurer.

So, passing the Euphrates at El Bir (the caravan road), at sixteen hours from Orfa, which the Talmuds affirm was founded by Nimrod, like Nineveh, he made straight for that capital of Mesopotamia, and those fragrant gardens that put one in mind of Eden, whose site they are said to be truly. A Greek governor now held it for Alexis, paying tribute to the Saracens, but, in the main, contriving to keep independent of either Bagdad or Constantinople. Both he and the people welcomed Baldwin, whom they mistook for the leader of the great Frank army. The city, fortunate enough to escape the Turks, had served as a refuge for a number of Christians; and they, rich. The bishop and twelve of the chief inhabitants met him as a deputation, telling him how wealthy Mesopotamia was, how devoted conscientiously to the cause of Jesus they were, and conjuring him to save a Christian establishment from the infidels' domina-

tion. Nor was Baldwin hard to be won. Yet having left little garrisons in all the various towns and villages he had stopped at, he had with him but a hundred horse. Curious was his triumphal entrance into that splendid, most civilised, and strongly-fortified place. The whole population walked out to receive him with olive branches and singing. But at their first interview, the prince or governor perceived he was more dangerous than a Mahometan; and, with a wish to get clear of him, offered him a considerable sum. The wily Baldwin however refused it, and threatened to go away, the townspeople, with loud cries, beseeching him to remain. But it could only be by his becoming bound to them by the binding link of duty; and by that honourable plea alone it were possible for him to be detached from the crusade, on the precise terms that the Prince of Orfa, who was old and childless, should adopt him, and proclaim him his successor; which being acceded to with eagerness, the legal ceremony of adoption was instantly gone through in the presence of Baldwin's own soldiers, and of the people, as indubitable witnesses, and according to the Oriental custom, the Greek passed the Latin between his shirt and his skin, and kissed him, in sign of his being his child. The aged wife of the prince did the same, and so Baldwin was ever

after considered their son and heir, and indeed neglected nothing to defend what had now become his own inheritance. When the death of the aged prince made him sovereign, he acquired in a signal degree the respect and love of his subjects; and in their annals he is held the best monarch they ever had. Being a widower, he married the niece of another of the small Armenian despots, a marriage that brought him a vast deal of money, and enabled him by purchase to extend his principality as far west as Mount Taurus. Orfa in the end was very useful to the crusaders, as a bulwark against the Turks on the side of the Euphrates towards the north-east.

But all this while was Godfrey stopped by Antioch, hard both to take and to maintain; and for a year and a half before it or within it, besieging or besieged, equally had the Franks to endure much and to suffer immense losses. The capital of Syria, with its massive fortifications of huge blocks of stone, and the iron bridge over the Orontes, and both its banks, were in quiet possession of the Latins, and the Turkish forces driven far away eastward of the Euphrates, but consequent on—ah! what tremendous sacrifices of life! Of the five or six millions computed to have left Europe, and

more than a million leaving Nice, only about sixty thousand now remained to set out for Jerusalem.

These were the ages of great things. Matters were always on a vast scale. For a few days we wander now all over a large city, or entire province, or as far as a newspaper goes; but then a father went wandering over whole continents; a great army was not of two hundred thousand men, but of five or six millions; nor of one, or of a few, but of almost all nations. A peasant now thinks it a great thing to go to a neighbouring shire, even with the aid of the railroad; but then, without any aid at all, a peasant with his entire family considered it a little undertaking to set out from the Vistula, or England, or the north of France, for Jerusalem.

Yet the sixty-thousand men that left Antioch were a far stronger body than the confused multitudes from which they were chosen; for they were every one of them excellent. After such rigid purifications—labours, diseases, battles, that along with some valuable lives, carried off almost all the useless and refuse, those that remained were veterans of rare merit. When find again a corps selected out from several millions? Nor by a fortuitous choice, but by a series of all sorts of experiments, without any danger of partiality or prejudice; for each was free to change masters, and as often as

he pleased. Nevertheless they shall be still more purified, if not to so small a compass as Gideon's, yet to one third.

There are wonderful things even to this day told about the whole country round Antioch—it is all holy ground to the Arab—whose fables are all appropriated to the French by the French historian; but Franks are meant to include almost all Europe. The old iron bridge—not that it was of metal, but that it had two towers covered with plates of iron—fell in 1822, from an earthquake, I think. But nothing was more consequential in all the various battles during the siege of Antioch, than that necessity reduced the cavalry to fight on foot, having devoured all their horses during the famine; and that dismounted cavalry formed an infantry to outdo either, and far superior to all the infantry then in use; and of which the famous Spanish foot afterwards were only a faint imitation, for this infantry was quite irresistible, and broke the Turkish cavalry at once. It was a lesson, that had a great effect then, and a far greater over the whole military world in process of time. For infantry, that up to that moment had been quite neglected in the middle ages, and considered a secondary arm, began to be held in due consideration and put on a par with the cavalry, which in

its turn, yielded the first place to the infantry. But it was ascertained, that to have the very best infantry, it must have been cavalry once. Particularly the English produced a celebrated corps (in their French wars, several centuries later) that used to be cavalry until they got to the field of battle, but then alighted and left their horses to the servants. "Then for the first time did Italy and France see horsemen in heavy armour that descended from their horses to fight on foot. Yet was it surely the best mode of warfare, for they thus joined the impenetrable armour of cuirassiers, to the steadiness of infantry, and it was almost impossible to break that firm phalanx. Those English too despised the most rigid winter, and never suspended their military operations at any season. And strange was the beauty of their arms and armour, all kept shining as a looking-glass; for every horseman was attended by two servants, who had nothing else to do, than clean their master's horse and accoutrements."

If the crusaders were blinded as to the holy lance, the Turks were equally so in fearing it; though some of those Mahometan writers say it was not a lance but stick. On the whole the Moslem thought it so extraordinary to lose Antioch, that some of them abandoned Mahometanism as proved untrue. Yet

even then it was difficult to persuade the crusaders (or the commander-in-chief himself who had gone to Orfa to visit his brother) to quit that pleasant residence. First to avoid the heats of summer—then a fever in autumn retarded them by carrying off nearly all the women and children and beggars, at the rate of fifty thousand a month—which, though to their deep concern at the time (for the crusaders were renowned for charity), but eventually a kindness of Providence, relieved them from what would have acted as a distraction, if not temptation, and certainly an unwieldy heavy tail and impediment. And to that succeeded the cold of winter, so that it was early in March of 1099 that they at last marched; and Bohemond of the Red Flag remained there as Sovereign Prince of Antioch.

At Laodicea they were joined by several English—exiles from Hastings—noble warriors who had left their darling homes and quiet firesides to William the Conqueror, and full of pious zeal and signal valour, proceeded to deliver the Holy Sepulchre; which did not prevent the army to thin. For numbers died of distress, hunger, and sickness all along; although there was no fighting. But whatever still rested with the least tinge of indiscipline or discord kept working themselves off by death. One day a young officer saw what

might well astonish him: "You alive and quite in health; you whom I saw slain in that battle?" "Know," replied the other, "that those who fight for Christ, never die." "But why are you clad in that dazzling beam?" At which his companion pointed up to the sky, where stood a palace of crystal and diamonds. "It is there I dwell, and to it owe the beauty that so surprises you. But, for you likewise, is a still more beautiful palace prepared, which you will come to enjoy very shortly. Farewell! We meet again to-morrow!" And the apparition returned to heaven. The rest was reality. For in he called the priests, received the last sacraments, and, though perfectly well, took leave of his friends. And in a sudden skirmish, early the next day, was struck in the forehead; "so went," says the chronicle, "to that fine palace."

It was certainly necessary for the counts and barons of the crusade to keep the minds of their soldiery exalted to the utmost, in order to accomplish what still awaited them; else their own authority alone would have never had weight enough. The rather that doubts began to arise regarding several of the past miracles; particularly the lance advocated by a person of dissolute manners, though well versed in letters. The Fatimite Caliph, though hating the Franks as

unbelievers, hated the Turks too, as wishing to deprive him of Syria, sent an ambassador to both. But nothing could stop the crusade. These had been still further reduced, and little exceeded forty thousand men; too small a number for so great an undertaking as that to which they were hastening, picked men as they had a right to call themselves, after having been put to so many proofs, and surmounted them all; nor any longer followed by a useless disorderly crowd, fortified by their losses, they formed a body more to be feared than at the outset.

The memory of their exploits heightened their own constancy and confidence in themselves and valour; and the terror they had spread through the East made them be still held an innumerable army. If they had still somewhat of a train, all armies have camp-followers; but in their case, that idle appendage kept every day decreasing. So the Emir of Tripoli paid them a contribution for peace; and without entering his town, they continued on. It was the end of May. Admirable was the order in the army, wonder of all beholders, say the chronicles. Every movement was by sound of trumpet—the least error in discipline punished severely—a regular school for all the details of a soldier's day, on or off guard, and nightly guards and videttes; the chaplains too were active in instruct-

ing; brave, patient, sober, charitable as ever they could, were those gallant warriors. Nor did the Moslem ever dare to stop them, such respect preceded their advance; not even in those defiles of which we read, "A hundred Saracen warriors would have been sufficient to stop the entire of the human race." Beyrout's rich territory, and Sidon's and Tyre's they traversed, and reposed in the laughing gardens of those ancient cities, and beside their delightful waters; the Moslem shut up peacefully within their walls, and sending plenteous provisions to the passing pilgrims, conjuring them not to damage their flowers and orchards, decoration and wealth of their lands.

In a cool valley on the banks of *the sweet river* they encamped three days. No more dreams of ambition—no attempt at getting rich, to be able to pay their troops; the chiefs, who for the most part had become poor, took service under the Count of Toulouse, though it must have galled their fierce spirit; but the nearer they drew to Jerusalem, the more they seemed to lose something of their worldly loftiness and indomitable pride, and to have forgotten their pretensions, disputes, and piques. They passed Acre (accepting tribute from its emir), Joppa, and the plain of that St. George who had so often aided them in battle, and thence struck off

to Ramla, within thirty miles of the object of all their toils and wishes. But on arriving, they had not one single loiterer or superfluous creature; but on review that morning, had barely numbered twenty thousand men.

But it was a selection of the very best warriors of all Christendom, such as it is not to be expected (perhaps scarcely desired) shall ever meet again. Most assuredly nothing similar is to be found in the history of past eras. Heroes whose likes the world never saw, and, I think, will hardly see again; and therefore is unwilling to admit they ever existed, but rather insists upon their being imaginary and inventions of story-tellers and poets. But in truth they were of the same flesh and blood as ourselves, but with sublimer minds, and more energy of purpose. I would not wrong our own period either. Perhaps, if we could concentrate the choicest of every nation in Christendom, and extract the quintessence of five or six millions, we might get together twenty thousand heroes, even now. But it is very improbable that circumstances will ever occur again to call out such multitudes of willing victims. With time and fashion, weapons and systems change.

But in substance it was the same, and will be always the same. The determined heart and bold

hand and lightning mind, are of all times. Who was a capital soldier then, would be a capital soldier now—not the least doubt of it. Hardiness and exactness are the things; with them, any tactics will do; without them, no tactics can effect much. Martinets—or whatever be the name in vogue—never perform important matters. Something of what took place after the great French Revolution, took place then—I mean officers acting as privates. Not one individual of the whole twenty thousand but was an experienced able veteran warrior, both for cavalry and infantry; and several of them accomplished engineers, or for what would be now called artillery, and fully capable of conducting a siege. And to a siege they were going, and such a siege! One of the strongest fortresses in Asia, with a large valiant garrison, commanded by a noted Mahometan, chosen on purpose for that arduous station, and well furnished with every necessary ammunition, and they themselves but a handful. Who ever heard, before or since, in the usual routine of war, of the besieged army being as numerous as the besieging? Here they are three times more so. But none of the least worthy of these Franks but would have been a fit sergeant in our armies, or subaltern, or even captain—hundreds generals, and certainly several qualified to be com-

manders-in-chief to any army at present in Europe. Their discipline must much have struck the Arabs, for I see they continually talk of their coming on "*like one man.*"

In passing the narrow rugged defiles of the hills of Judea where the smallest resistance from an enemy would have delayed them, it is easy to believe that they interpreted their meeting none into a proof that *He* was delivering the holy city up into their hands; as, a little before too, He had informed them of their foe's designs by a dove's dropping into the midst of them, under whose wing was tied a letter from one Moslem Emir to his general; and it was perfectly clear that the sweet white bird had been sent direct from heaven, whence else could she have come? Nearer and nearer, with increase of impatience—and throbbing hearts every one of them—the venerated cupolas were now very near, though as yet unseen. So Tancred with a little vanguard was despatched round to occupy Bethlehem; and as for the centre, it halted for the night at a village within six miles of what they soon next morning came in view of—Jerusalem! Jerusalem! Jerusalem! flew from mouth to mouth and from rank to rank, and leaping from their horses, and kissing the ground, it were difficult to depict the fervour of that sublime moment.

Remounting to the highest antiquity, Jerusalem was even then the most magnificent of Asiatic cities, and it has never ceased to be a strong one. No other great metropolis was perhaps ever built from the first purposely for strength. The founders, says Tacitus, foreseeing that its difference of morals would be sure to make it the source of continual wars, had used every effort to fortify it; and under the Romans it was the mightiest fortress in Asia. And under the Moslem, who now held it, its circuit measured about three miles, in form an oblong square. The regular troops garrisoning it, were forty thousand; the militia twenty thousand; and the body of Turks and other Mahometans of every description that had come to join in the defence, were at least ten thousand, in all seventy thousand men, under the Fatimite lieutenant, an esteemed soldier, and his second in command, an Osmanli of still greater military reputation. Its garrison always numerous and brave, had been vastly increased for the occasion and in every respect excellently provided to stand a siege.

The Turks had made it an exception to their usual spirit of degradation; for finding it to be always an object of competition and by turns the ambition of every conqueror, they had not neglected its fortifications; much less the Egyptians,

who supplanted the Turks. Should not all Islam united be able to beat off whom neither the ramparts of Antioch nor innumerable armies could check on their victorious march? But the crusaders, melted down as they were in numbers, were far too few to invest the entire city; so had to confine themselves to the half of it. And when, after various attempts during forty days, they took it by assault at last, without any of the aids of modern warfare and little of the engineership then practised, not from want of talent and information but want of timber, without even ladders, but only a few machines made on the spot—far from the sea—and with scarcity of wood and iron—there is something very like a miracle in their ever having taken it at all. Bloody was the struggle—indeed *a giant fight*—and too bloody necessarily the first unsparing blast of victory.

Glad am I to be able to dispense myself from speaking of atrocities committed during many days. Butchered it is said were seven thousand souls in Omar's Mosque alone; nor is it easy to flatter one's self it is a grievous exaggeration, since vaunted of by the Christians themselves, and rather admitted by the Moslem chronicles, that proclaimed it with indignation; and indeed one of them goes so far as to labour to extenuate it, by affirming that from

a rumour that every Mahometan who left the town within three days, his life should be spared, a terrible disaster occurred ; for that, to be in time, numbers pressed out together, and choked up the doorway, and were many of them suffocated. But that could account for few deaths in seventy thousand ; and the long space of three days. It rather makes the matter worse—and but adds an atrocious and more striking circumstance.

But it is very remarkable, that neither here nor on any occasion, do either Christians or Moslems condemn or lament their own crimes or barbarities, or those of their enemies, but quietly recite the enormity without a single word of surprise, sorrow, or blame. What a profound hatred must have been on both sides, since not one Mahometan ever came from the besieged, asking either capitulation or quarter ; nor had the Christians once deigned—as was almost invariably practised everywhere else, in Palestine particularly—to summon them to surrender. Their encounter could not be otherwise than tremendous and merciless, whoever won.

With perfect justice has it been observed that Tasso introduces too much witchcraft ; which is not to be in character. Witchcraft is in the spirit of the age in which the poet lived, and which

was full of that superstition, but not of that of which he wrote. The crusaders were very superstitious, to be sure, but their superstition was not conversant with little things, but with the phenomena of the heavens, and the apparition of saints and angels, and revelations made by the Creator himself; but not regarding necromancy and magicians. Fairies might have come through Normandy from the Scalds; and the mythology of Odin may have had some affinity with the alchymy of the Spanish Moors. But the crusaders of the first crusade believed little or not at all in magic and witches.

The Jerusalem of that time was the Jerusalem of Titus; or like it in some degree, and displayed desperate valour and rapacity, and the very utmost pitch of unsparing cruelty. Consolatory to have the operation quickly over, the Arab historians despatch the whole doleful matter in two lines: "It was the will of God that the city should be taken; and so the Christians, rushing on *like one man*, took it—God curse them!"

But Godfrey de Bouillon did not share in any of the barbarities; but if he could not give an order in a place taken by assault, gave his example, and the crusaders saw that he who had been the first and most ardently courageous and able of warriors on the walls, appeared to change his nature the

moment he entered the streets, and went straight and most meekly to pray at the Holy Sepulchre, helmless and barefooted. And after some time, the other chiefs of the crusade followed him; but grieved and ashamed am I to avow, that after that splendid act of piety, they returned to the vomit, with refreshed acrimony, and all the most unchristian passions. Yet some few tarried with their heroic lord; chiefly his own immediate servants, and one devoted youth who had long chosen him for *his man*, and been beside him during the whole crusade, and had saved his life in Natolia; and reminds us of the person who desired his own name should be forgotten, and this epitaph, and nothing else, inscribed on his tomb, *Here lies Sir Philip Sydney's friend*; — for chroniclers rarely designate him otherwise than *Duke Godfrey's young friend*, so that it required singular chance, and much antiquarian perseverance, to discover securely whom they meant. But now all doubt has unanswerably vanished. From deserters met at Ramla, not one Latin, male or female, had remained in Jerusalem. The contrary is but a fable. Had there been one, priest or layman, one single one of any age or either sex, any such would have been eagerly caught at; if even for no other purpose, yet for this, to identify the relics intended for Europe.

But the crusaders not finding one of their own persuasion, had to put up with the authority of schismatics, and others, or those they called heretics; and, at all events, not Latin Roman Catholics, but Orientalists, Jews, Pagans, Greeks, Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites. There was no remedy. On the faith of these, blind reliance was to be placed by Europeans. Fact is, no Latin inhabitant had been tolerated in Jerusalem for the last half century, and that as to pilgrims, or passing traders, the Latin archbishop had seen the last of them off, before he left it himself, and fled to Cyprus, soon as the crusaders had reached Antioch.

The news of the fall of Jerusalem flying fast, a deputation from the Mahometans of the neighbouring town of Assur, came the very next day to Godfrey, the Christian Malek-Nasser, or Commander-in-Chief, to capitulate on terms of lives and property, for which they sent several hostages; and in return would be satisfied with one Christian chief; and the duke, who had but his young friend then on whom he could thoroughly count, and knowing that he had determined not to return home like the rest, but sacrifice himself to their sacred cause for life, appointed him at once; where-

upon he immediately delivered himself up to the deputies, and departed.

But in the next night's tumult, the Moslem hostages escaped; and when they got to Assur, tidings had come of the approach of the Egyptian army to expel the Christians; so those of that town, taking courage, refused to send back the refugees. Godfrey hastened to chastise them with what troops he could gather from the murderous sack still going on. The irritated Assurians then betaking themselves to an enormously lofty mast of a ship which had been erected as a trophy or ornament in the market-place, and shaping it into the form of a colossal cross, planted it on the walls near the Jerusalem Gate, and raising the youth to it with ropes, using a jerk, as in some of the by-gone modes of torture, must have cruelly dislocated all his limbs, and lacerated his muscles. Nailing at first had been perhaps less horrible. But they seem at the beginning to have meant only a jest; when the rescue from Jerusalem came in sight, within some paces, a voice bade them not advance, for that at their first step they would instantly kill him; or shoot, and you must shoot him. At which the poor crucified, with what strength he could, exclaimed most wofully: "Now do not forget, O most illustrious Duke, that it was under your com-

mand I was sent hither an exile and hostage amongst impious men and a barbarous nation; and therefore I beseech you to show mercy towards me, and not permit me to perish so cruelly by so dreadful a martyrdom." But Godfrey, well aware that the tribute naturally torn from his sufferings, was nowise a criterion of his resolute heart, replied, "Not at all, O most gallant of warriors, my dearly beloved young friend! Nor is it in my power to turn off the vengeance of these of mine come to pour it on this devoted town. Not were you even my own brother Eustatius of the same womb with myself, could I this day purchase your release at such a price. Believe me, it is better to die than make these soldiers falsify their oaths, and me mine, and allow this town to remain a lasting scourge to all pilgrims. Your departure is only to fly up to where you'll live for ever with our Lord Jesus!" Wonderful instance of the ruling passion strong in death, he thought of his horse and arms and the Holy Sepulchre; and that its future defenders should wear his armour and wield his sword, left as an heir-loom for the occasion, as frequently was practised in those ages: "Then, O friendliest and best of dukes, give the signal, without any longer attending to me. Only I ardently do beseech you to have my horse and arms presented as a gift and

legacy to the Holy Sepulchre, for the benefit of my own soul, and to be used by those who serve God there!" And at the instant ten arrows struck him.

It could not be avoided. But Assur was not to be taken by a *coup-de-main* thus; after many ineffectual attempts, it was clear that no small force like this, but only a large army and regular siege would do. So duke and Normans returned sadly to Jerusalem, reflecting that it would require two months to prepare the necessary machines. And all mourned for the death of their leader's "young friend." Yet dead he was not totally. But on their return, they beheld other duties, and what none of the crusade had expected. The uproar of the sack had (thank Heaven) ceased. Jerusalem, utterly altered, in a few days had changed inhabitants, laws, and religion; yet louder than ever was the martial bustle. The rumour that had emboldened the Assurians was not untrue. The visier had passed the frontier, and might reach the metropolis in three days. Not be besieged, as at Antioch; meet our foes, not wait for them within these shattered walls. There we may rely on our own courage; but here, who knows whether we might not find traitors by our side? Some such fear might be a palliation for the massacres in the Temple, whose

groans frightened Jordan, and were echoed back by its sandy hills.

The message had arrived in the middle of the night, and been published by torchlight and sound of trumpet, at all the principal crossings of the streets, with a proclamation in every quarter of the city, for the warriors to meet in the church by daybreak. Such the self-confidence of the crusaders, and their assurance of victory, that this sudden announcement of peril and call to battle, rousing them from slumber about half-past midnight, did not disconcert them, nor troubled the repose of darkness otherwise than by impatience for dawn; and joy-bells rang in matins.

Several hours before Godfrey's arrival, Tancred, and the other chiefs of the crusade, had come to this resolution, and now all was ready; and he warmly approving, and hardly listening while told he had been elected king during his absence, only changes his horse, and anew the trumpet, and once more their Malek-Nasser is at their head. To Ascalon! The Egyptians will have already entered it! But some of the crusaders, holding their vow of liberating the Holy Sepulchre accomplished, had already proceeded homeward, and almost all had their thoughts in that direction. But their hesitation was soon persuaded to march.

Yet very extremely small was the army of the cross, if compared to the multitude against whom it was advancing. To the myriads of the Nile were added the ablest and bravest of the Mahometan warriors from every country. Yet their vast superiority of numbers did not prevent their resorting to every stratagem they could devise, and one very extraordinary; a quantity of buffaloes, asses, mules, mares, sent wild through the fields, to create confusion among the crusaders' horses; and men too, from the temptation to plunder. But Godfrey, under the penalty of nose and ears, forbade any soldier's leaving the ranks. Nor meant more than a prohibition; with such warriors the penalty could not but be merely for form's sake; to which the patriarch added a malediction. So the crusaders no more harmed the herds and animals wandering around them, than if their shepherds.

That night, remaining under arms, and learning the foe was in the plain of Ascalon, now only a few miles off, on sunrise, the 14th of August, the heralds blew the warning of battle. The nearer they drew, the more ardent for combat, replete with hope, and a courageous glow. We look upon our opponents as so many timid deer, or innocent lambkins. They advanced to danger as to a joyous feast. The Emir of Ramla (a spectator in the

Christian army) could not but admire the hilarity of the soldiers at the approach of their formidable adversaries, and expressing his surprise to Godfrey, swore, taking him as a witness, to embrace the religion that inspired its followers with such strength and bravery. At length they got into the plain, all decorated with the Saracen flags and tents, stretching for a league eastward. Leaning back on the sand-hills to the south, were the Egyptian forces drawn up in form of a crescent, like a young stag presenting its long, unweathered horns. Nor the crusaders came without the wild herds spoken of, who, allured by the sound of their trumpets, raised clouds of dust as they kept wheeling round them, like charges of squadrons of cavalry, with a noise of strange confusion. Until then, the Saracen troops had been taught to believe that the Latins would not even dare to wait for them within the walls of Jerusalem, but would decamp for Europe at hearing of their approach, and now, seeing the direct contrary, the more they had shown security hitherto, the more they were struck with a sudden panic terror, and were sure that millions of crusaders had come fresh from beyond sea. The battle itself was not long. The new levies first, and the rest of the Mahometans ran away soon. Little resistance, but

they allowed themselves calmly to be butchered. Tancred and the Count of Flanders had done wonders, and broken through the Moslem line; and Duke Robert of Normandy, penetrating even to where the visier was giving his orders, seized on the infidels' standard, which was the signal for defeat, and the whole army took to flight. All was over, except a horrible massacre. Godfrey with about ten thousand horse, and three thousand foot, made such rapid evolutions, he seemed ubiquitous, and rendered vain every attempt to rally. Of a large body of Moslem cavalry, pursued into the sea by the Christian, three thousand were drowned in an idle endeavour to reach the Egyptian fleet, that had stood in as near as it could. Other Moslems, that had mounted into the sycamores and olive trees to hide in their leaves, were burned there, trees and all, as the Arab writers confess; adding, that some whom a lance or dart might strike, fell down from the branches, like a bird shot by the fowler. Thousands threw down their arms, and bowing, had their heads cut off. As many in consternation and trembling on the field of battle stood waiting the Christian sword, which mowed them down, as a mower mows the thick grass of a meadow, or a reaper reaps the rich wheat. A few escaped into the desert to die of

hunger, but by far the greater part were miserably cut to pieces to manure that melancholy flat. A crowd tried to seek refuge in the town of Ascalon, but blocked the gate up so, that two thousand of them were suffocated, or were trampled down by the horses. The visier hardly got off, and lost his scimitar. So immense had been his army that, in the words of the old chronicler, "only God could know their numbers." Yet to the Christians it was an easy victory, nor needed their usual bravery, nor miracles. They found Egyptians much less than Turks.

The Latins are said to have had seventeen thousand on that day, and Islam three hundred thousand men. But once that disorder and panic follow an army, numbers only make things worse. Godfrey might now return in triumph to Jerusalem, and the first crusade was indeed ended. But when all these heroes go back to Europe, as will happen in a few days now, who are to uphold the new kingdom? Godfrey, is he not worthier of the title of king, than his territories of that of kingdom? Sad, dark questions from which most shrank. Also there was some little discord, usual fruit of great success. Tancred's generous intercession reconciled the parties. With tears and much weeping the crusaders

separated from Godfrey, Tancred, and the others left in the Holy Land. This first crusade, the only one that succeeded, had not a monarch in it. Sacred orators expatiated for the future, not on the woes of Jerusalem, but the victories and glory of the crusaders.

CHAPTER III.

1099 THE tumults of war had ceased, for it was now in October of 1099,¹ and (the victorious crusaders being come back from Ascalon some weeks), Jerusalem resumed a share of the silence and melancholy usual to it ever since Christ's death.² Many detachments had gone homeward, and who will not follow?³ But the choicest of that choice army still delayed, and both officers and soldiers seemed to dread the day they were to separate from whom they loved and revered so much. Godfrey's first care in that precarious state, was to make the most

¹ P. Antonio Paoli: *Dell'Origine dell'Ordine di S. Gio. Geros.*, &c., 4to, Roma, 1781, p. 445.

² Michaud: *Corres. d'Orient*, vol. iv. p. 245.—“La cité la plus lugubre du monde,” *Id.* 289.

³ *Pez: Chronicon Austriacum*, 547.—*Bib. des Croisades*, iii. 195.

of it, by gaining a little elbow room all round,¹ or the pressure would have crushed his little realm at once.

All Palestine is represented in a deplorable condition at the epoch of the crusades;² not perhaps quite as bad as in our own days, yet very bad, and totally different from what it had been under the Jews or even Romans; as if a mighty curse lay on that whole country, cut up everywhere into small bits, belonging to various people, speaking different languages, and with multitudinous customs, laws, dresses, religions; of innumerable sects of Christianity, Islamism, Paganism, besides a large minority of Samaritans, Israelites, Canaanites, and Hebrews from remotest lands, ancient nation that had once been its real proprietors. The Latins soon gave up, as of no value, what had once seemed to them wealthy estates. The lands all appeared to belong to anybody and nobody. In a house but a year and a day, and it is your own legal property. Stay away as long, and you have lost all right over it.³ The Jerusalem kingdom itself only comprised the city, and about twenty

¹ Michaud: *Hist. des Croisades*, sixieme ed. vol. ii. p. 2, Paris, 1841.

² Arab. Chron. 2.—Bib. Crois. 41.

³ Michaud: *Hist.*, vol. ii. 3.

towns and villages in its vicinity. And these intersccted by others that had Mahometan sovereigns or lords. From one castle hung the cross, from its next, the crescent. How was Godfrey to widen his domains? Yet it was absolutely necessary. He had thought of an expedition into Galilee, to possess himself of Tiberias, and some places hard by Jordan.¹

But it required money, and his treasury was empty. If that had caused him some sleepless nights, no wonder. Yet he had been greatly rejoiced that very morning by the unexpected return of his young friend, whom he had thought slain at Assur; and on him he knew he could build, and on Tancred he had begun, with good reason; nor arms alone his hope, but also fair means. So he is to receive a deputation of Moslem Emirs within an hour, and a treaty or alliance may succeed. So there, in the court-way of his residence: "Bid them come in!" "But, Majesty, where is your ——?" and an officer would have hurried for a seat. "This will do," said Godfrey; and if he had acted on a deep-laid plan of captivating the Moslem, he could not have done better, when he seized a bundle of straw, and sat down on it. It is

¹ Michaud : Hist., vol. ii. 3.

this mixture of grandeur and simplicity that always produces most effect on the minds of men. Yet was it done by him naturally, unconscious of the effect it had on those Easterns, particularly when he replied to their observation that he was sitting very near the earth, "One may well sit *on* the earth, since we shall so soon be *under* it."¹ So much humility and so much glory! It filled them with admiration; and they, who indeed were rather spies than deputies, going away, one said to the other, "He is indeed a great man, and must be the person assuredly destined to conquer the whole East, and govern the nations!"² Which things agreed with the opinions already in his favour among the Turks; so that they wrote: "For honour and uprightness, Godfrey is eminent above all the Christians—brave as they are, with all their defects, and candid. Solicit his friendship; for if you obtain it, you will have that of the whole Christian body."³

This contrast of grandeur and modesty has always surprised mankind, and is the most commanding spectacle in history. And had he to live long, he would have succeeded in establishing a regular

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. vi. 15.

² Id. Id. ii. 5.

³ Albert Auenis: Chron.—Bib. Crois. i. 57.

government in that discordant multitude of Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Arabs, renegades from every religion, and adventurers from every land.¹ But an audience of still more importance; the chief princes and leaders, who came from a general assembly of all the crusaders, to announce what he and they knew, but avoided speaking of, that at the close of winter they must take leave, but that they would accompany him to receive his brother Baldwin, shortly expected from Edessa, on a visit. And Godfrey rose, and affectionately embraced every one of them, and individually thanked, and presented each with some small keepsake,² much more pleased at their promise to stay during winter, than shaken at their departure, which he expected. Brilliant sight! with their sashes of red or white, and surcoats, and their lofty silver helmets. But one wanting, enters singly after them; he characterised as the generous and brave, where all were of signal generosity and bravery; he who had been considered rich, when he possessed but his sword and his fame—but who now had worldly treasures in abundance, six waggon loads of gold, and silver, and jewels, which it required two days to transport

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. ii. 7.

² P. A. Paoli: 476.—Foulcher de Chartres: Chron.

from the mosque to his quarters,¹ and of which the Arab chronicles give a list, and may well call immense riches; since they included seventy large gold lamps, and one of silver of forty hundred-weight, and other magnificent articles, that had been increasing through the piety of Mahometans ever since A.D. 638.² A law of the crusade gave the whole to him whose banner was first raised on the building, and of this fact there never had been any question, or could be. They were all his personal undivided property; as every crusader avowed, without a moment's hesitation, or sigh of envy.³ "Sir Tancred," said Godfrey, "I thank you," and leading him to his bundle of straw, made him sit down by his side. "You know," faltered Tancred, "I have long chosen you for more than my sovereign, by your permission, and that as long as you remain, I will; so I live. But now I wish to declare it publicly, in our Norman fashion, and am come prepared!" And on sign of assent, he called in two, and rose and knelt down before Godfrey, and between both his, placing both his own hands, said, "I call you, gentlemen, to witness that I too swear fealty to him as my man; and as my

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 348.—P. A. Paoli: 82.

² Bib. Crois., vol. vi. 12.—Ibn. Agonzi.—Mines de l'Orient.

³ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 248.

first tribute, make him a free gift of the half of all that by my sword has been lately won at Omar's from the Saracens." "Which I accept," said Godfrey, and lifting his right hand, described a large sign of the cross from forehead to breast, and then leant both his hands on Tancred's shoulders, and kissed him on both cheeks. "Now, my vassal, rise and retire."¹

When Baldwin and his brother met, after so long a separation, it was to their mutual delight, and Godfrey feasted him sumptuously the whole winter. That old and most melancholy of cities must have been astounded at such entertainments. And thus to the Prince of Tarentum's cousin, his squire on service, while buckling on his master's coat of arms, and cross, and broad white sash, at his lodgings in some part of that narrow street that winds south from the square of the Holy Sepulchre down towards the Temple: "Recollect, Sir, it is summer, still, the 10th of October,² which these fellows desecrate with their barbarous *regeb*,³ and his Majesty, my Lord, is early; particularly with his fine weather. And if he fixed so late an hour as eight this morning, it must be for the noble sick warrior that is with him." So Tancred

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 248.

² P. A. Paoli: 485. ³ Arab. Chron., 209.

hastened straight to Gerard's room, and had scarcely time to say "How do you do, now, Count d'Avesne?" to him who lay on his litter, and smiling affectionately, though pale, replied "Better; but we'll never play at mall again, for I am hamstrung in both legs and arms." In the East they play it on horseback. The celebrated warrior, Noureddin, was the finest rider and best player at mall, of his time.¹ But Godfrey entering, "Sir Tancred, I sent for you not to speak or debate, but to witness what my mature reflection has resolved on, and also that of my honoured young friend, who will listen, and if ever I explain his purpose wrong, correct me. It was from my knowledge of his self-devoted intention, I sent him then as hostage, and therefore that was truly the commencement of what was made public only this day. So let the 12th of August, 1099, be a holy memorial to all ages, of the founder of all to which I here consent."²

"We are Normans, all three. So it is not necessary to prove those sacred oral doctrines which have come down to us from our remotest ancestors, and which have only become holier from Christianity. For me, I have already begun a compilation

¹ Arab. Chron., 161.

² P. A. Paoli: 199.

of laws, which I hope will be a benefit to this kingdom; and mean to base them on Norman freedom, and recommend them as well as ever I can to posterity by depositing the writing in what is a general object of veneration to all Christians—the Holy Sepulchre. But much finer is the way our friend has taken, by inscribing the same great truths not on paper or parchment, or even brass or marble, but on the immortal minds of generations of men—and uniting them into one civilised body; of not a nation or race, but of all the nations and races of our human kind. Whenever that comes to be imitated, it will be but imitation; but the first idea is wholly his own, and infinitely grand. To be of utility to men (under God, whose instrument he is) has been indeed his primitive scope; but I do not know that he could ever have effected it in any other way than this he has chosen; which links so appositely with these times and will with recenter too. Could any but sovereigns and Normans have possibly executed it?

“To create a corps of volunteers of the bravest warriors for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and this kingdom—a permanent crusade—and exercise hospitality on its widest scale towards the pilgrims of all ranks and nations—are the measures proposed, and assuredly there is sublimity in the thought.

To maintain with a few, what it has required a crusade of all Europe to conquer; and day and night, in sanguinary regions and at such a distance, lodge as they are accustomed, and feed all classes, from the emperor to the peasant; and likewise attend to them when sick, and provide them with all necessities of physic and physicians and surgeons, and all gratis, is no small undertaking. If the duties of hospitality are three—to defend the guest going and coming—to feed and lodge him when well—to try to cure him if sick; to traverse so many disturbed lands and to receive them all so that each shall be treated as far as possible according to his rank—with no vain attempt at equality, but each pretty nearly as used to—requires armies and treasures—although the third alone, an infirm-ary, might perhaps cost little. The rule then that my friend has determined on, is this:—

1st. Hospitality for all pilgrims and crusaders including defence of the Holy Sepulchre and of this new kingdom.¹

2nd. A military organisation in three classes: ² clergy, ³ knights, servants at arms.⁴

¹ P. A. Paoli: 199. ² Id.: 202.

³ *Pro forma*, strictly limited to their spiritual duties as not of this world, but a higher. *In ragione di dignità*. P. A. Paoli: 200.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 331.

3rd. Knights to have all the proofs required of a *miles*—*nullus fit miles nisi filius militis.*¹

4th. The not regularly professed in the order, may yet be aggregated to it.²

5th. Females also.⁴

6th. None professed can have any property of their own; but only can expect to be clothed and fed plainly and frugally;⁵ and freely dedicate their lives.

7th. Therefore three vows—celibacy, obedience, and individual poverty.

8th. Celibacy cuts off from most of those domestic ties which are impediments to self-devotedness. Obedience the most implicit; particularly in battle, where, without an express command, they on no pretext whatsoever can retire; but death must be expected with heroic fortitude. Their being individually poor, means that they renounce the rights of property,

¹ Hallam: Middle Ages.

² Almost all the Norman Princes were of this class.

³ Ever since, as old Raimond. Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xxii., or a Bohemond, Num. xviii., Appendix, ~~xxx~~ xlv.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 353.—Chron. Vitzburgense. Whether by vows as in 1134 at Verona, or in the world, as the King of France's daughter and sister. Appendix, Num. xliii.

⁵ P. A. Paoli: 221 and passim. Bread and water are the words to this day. Reception, Vertot, vi. 21.

so that the all of each belongs to the common treasury.

9th. Their dress is that they at present wear—the cross white, now, from the founder being a Norman.

10th. Each future head is to be selected by the order from amongst themselves; and he is to have a council to which he must submit; and on important matters convene a general assembly of the order, where he may have a double vote; and then the majority decide beyond appeal.

“Now to the whole of this I entirely subscribe, in both my Norman and royal quality, and depute you, Sir Tancred, to make it generally known; and as a mark that in this I wish to take the lead, here are two deeds of donation,¹ one in Palestine,² and one in Europe,³ in respect of its European origin

¹ P. A. Paoli: 26.—Seb. Paoli: Codice Diplomatico, vol. i. Num. ii.; Appendix, Num. x.—Quick then; for London, Schwerein, Sicily are near.

² St. Abraham near Bethlehem. Michaud: Hist., vol. ii. 5. Michaud: Orient. vol. v. 202. Hessilia was the more proper name, as we learn from Godfrey's own brother Baldwin I. “Donum quod frater meus fecit hospitali, videlicet de quodam Casale, quod vocatur Hessilia.” Seb. Paoli: i. 445.

³ The Monale is a river in Sicily. *Monboir* is for Montboisé. *Abryele* is a *fabri*; in Italian, *al riparo*. Paoli: Osservazioni, lxxii.—Albert d'Aix: Chron. vii.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. i., anno 1099.

and its destination to these parts. And I hope that similar, or rather far more magnificent donations, may shortly follow from my Norman brethren, and from others also; for vast sums are necessary to so vast an undertaking—urgent and simultaneous. I will announce it to Baldwin; but a favourable omen and a merciful Providence is this delay and meeting of so many of the Norman and other princes of the crusade, which permits your speaking to them at once in person. And my desire is, that their donations, though quick, be not exactly here; for it would grieve me any should attribute them rather to love for me, than to the incontestible merits of the institution itself. Not only the antedate 1100, but also the months for a year from the taking." Yet, as this is the first gift to the order, it will be fair to give a union of the three copies; two in Italian, and one in old French—all three in the appendix, in substance the same, but each with many errors of the pen, or otherwise.

"In name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Godfrey de Bullion, by the grace of God Duke of Lorraine, make it known to all present and future, that for the remission of my sins, having adorned my heart and shoulders with the sign of the cross of the Saviour crucified for us, I at length reached the spot where our most high Lord, Jesus Christ,

trod for the last time; and, after I had visited the Holy Sepulchre and all those holy places, with the devotion of a full heart, finally I came where once stood a church of the Holy Hospital, founded in honour of God and his blessed mother, and St. John the Baptist; and seeing so many operations suggested by the grace of the Holy Ghost that it is impossible to count them, and more charity toward the sick and indigent of the faithful than human tongue can express, I promised to offer something to God also, and so now, to acquit my promise to the Omnipotent with whole effusion of spirit, give to the said house of the Hospital, and all the brethren within it, an habitation built on the Monale called Wood Mount, in the Cold Mountain (in Sicily), and of the Castle of S. Abraham (near Bethlehem), and I make this my donation in the year 1100, less than a year from the taking of Jerusalem; and I have done this for the benefit of the souls of my father and mother, and relations, and all the Christians, living and dead. And affix my seal to the same, in presence of these trusty witnesses, Arnold of Vismala, and many others."

There are many mistakes in the deed, as come down to us, and as it could not have been written by Godfrey. The Xenodochium of the order and the Church of St. John were two distinct things. Near the church

says the Papal deed, "juxta ecclesiam,"¹ and that the ruins of some former hospital or church might have been found and seen there by Godfrey, and on this was built the beautiful new one, seen there a very few years later by the Vizburgensian;² but what Godfrey saw could not be new. The Turks had thrown down, or converted into stables, all the hospitals of the Christians and churches, except the Holy Sepulchre for pilgrims, and the Temple turned into a mosque.³ Circumstantiality is a dangerous thing; and he that hazards it, may lose his credit as an historian—leaving himself open to the accusation of dealing rather in fancies than realities, because he could not possibly be present. But this would put an extinguisher on all history, since

¹ Appendix, Num. v. In many ancient writings the date is in the context, the most certain date; for it is not liable to errors. Here we have two facts, of which as to the years they occurred in, all good historians agree. These in the Appendix are all very old *copies*, so not in their places in the Cod. Dipl., where none but original and legal. But if these be all with incorrections, yet do they not corroborate the substance? The date most erroneous in numbers is remedied by the context of *within a year from the taking of Jerusalem*. That Godfrey made some such donation is legally proved by Baldwin's deed in the Cod. Dipl., and if none of these three are that donation verbatim, yet their being the same in substance is a very strong probability. Appendix, Num. xix., xx., xxi.

² Vizburgenis: Chron.—Appendix xv.—P. A. Paoli: Osservazioni, lxix.

³ P. A. Paoli: 82.

seldom has any historian seen much of what he relates. Nor if he did, is eyesight the first class of evidence; for how easily may the eyes be deceived! But indeed the first class of historic evidence, surer than any eyesight (for your eyes may be a law to you who see, but not to him who has to trust to your word), is that of charters and law documents, and wills, and deeds of gift, and such like. The declaration of an eye-witness is to reader or hearers only a secondary sort of evidence. It is like the former without their witnesses, and therefore needing some additional testimony of context or circumstances. A formal document has its full proof in itself. It is not one man, but several. The reader has no excuse to expect, nor the writer to give. The proof would suffice any upright judges in the world; but not so circumstantiality—this is to be taken at its worth in every instance. Yet is it not a pity to neglect any of the few circumstances that have escaped the stream of time? Rather let them be given freely, though with some personal risk to the writer, occasionally adding, from what he sees, the present condition of the places in question, when his statements aspire to no more value than those of any other traveller. As to their being beneath the dignity of history, smile at it. Whoever (by whatever means) contrives to give us a true

picture of the times, suggests probable motives, and is exact as to facts—he is the historian.

The care of the sick and wounded made females necessary from the very first. Except this error as to date, the rest of the current story may be quite true; that of the Hospitalleresses, the very first was a Roman lady of the name of Agnes.¹ Godfrey was right; none but Norman sovereigns could have insured success. Who were the Normans then at Jerusalem, and who, exactly as Godfrey wished, made donations of land to the order, as soon as ever they left that city? The Norman was the great party of that day, and it became a party question. Its earliest protectors were, with few exceptions, Normans; its founder, and the King of Jerusalem, Normans; and the Baldwins Bohemond, Tancred, Roger of Antioch, Raimond of Joppa. Its first establishments in Europe were in England and Sicily, where both the sovereigns were Normans. Tancred gave it large possessions about Bethlehem, and his cousin, at Bari, Taranto, and Otranto. In Flanders, Hainaut, Pannonia, what wonder, where dwelt Gerard's own nearest relatives? It was like wild fire, and at the same time quite natural.² That the Mahometans should

¹ P. A. Paoli: 349.

² Id.: 456.

soon send tremendous forces to win it back, was clear from the grief with which Bagdad heard of Jerusalem's fall. Their poet had adjured 'them' by everything they held most sacred: "Blood mingles with our tears. O children of Islam, many are the battles you have to sustain, in which your heads shall roll at your feet! What blood has been spilt! How many of your women left but their hands to cover their beauty? Your Syrian brothers have but the back of their camels, or the vultures' entrails! So frightful are the strokes of the lance, and the shocks of swords, that at the very noise the head of the infant whitens with fear. Methinks he who sleeps in his grave at Medina, lifts himself to cry out, 'O sons of Hashem! What! my people not fly to save religion shaken to its foundation? To fear death now is dishonour; and is not dishonour a mortal wound? The Arabian chiefs, the warriors of Persia, submit to such degradation?'"

It is nowise but simple, then, that an immense army of Saracens assembled forthwith to march

¹ Alivardi. It was Ramadan. So general the grief that crowds filled the mosques imploring the Divine clemency, and were so troubled *that they forgot the fast*; which is perhaps a solitary instance in the whole history of Mahometanism of such awful trouble. Arab. Chron., 13.

against the Latins. But what is really astonishing is, that an heroic handful should overthrow such great forces. But what men were at their head! Their five thousand won the day, and saved Jerusalem, yet at the price of Bohemond,¹ carried off prisoner by the retreating Turks, *who called him the minor god of the Christians.*² Islam annals assure us that seven French counts tried to deliver him, but they perished.³

His adventures are infinitely curious; and in his old age he went through the Courts of Europe recounting them. Any one of them would be too romantic for any history but this; and even in this, its substance is all that can be given. The Prince of Tarentum and three of his followers were confined in a castle in Mesopotamia, whose malek had a beautiful, virtuous, and wealthy daughter, who, prepared by all she had heard, fell in love with the Franks, and a variety of religious discussions led to her conversion, without her father being aware of it. After a courtship of two years (says the chronicler—but it is permitted to suspect the accuracy of his chronology—perhaps it is the copier's fault who should have written months), the sultan and his power marching against the malek, besieged him,

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 10.—Arab. Chron., 15.

² Bib. Crois., i. 314.

³ Arab. Chron.; 16.

and she in this frightful predicament directed herself to the Franks. "Admirable Lady," answered Bohemond, "allow us but weapons, and you shall see what can be effected by the sword and courage of Franks!" She then made them swear to defend her father's possessions; and after victory to resume their irons as before:—"O my friends," said she, "if that irritate my father, you will protect her who loves you with all her heart!" And on her giving them their liberty; they armed and rushing out at once with the Norman war cry, "*God's aid!*" the besiegers, struck with a panic terror, fled. Only a single combat took place between Bohemond and the sultan's son, who at length fell. Still the malek, when he learned he owed his safety to Christians, flew into a rage and called her a *wicked minx* in the midst of all his officers; but Bohemond and his Normans rushing in with naked sword raised in the very act to strike, dropped them at a sign from her, and stood, stockstill as waiting her order. After a pause she said, "For me, beloved father, I am going to become a Christian; for their law is honourable and holy;" and retiring with the Christians she said to them, "I shall always continue your sister and tender friend!" But after various days, the old malek by degrees learned to take Bohemond into his good graces,

with, as it were, parental affection; so much so that he ventured to address the new convert thus after her baptism: "Noble young lady, who did prefer our creed and us its followers to your own and kindred, even while yet a pagan, choose of yourself freely, we beseech you, from the warriors now before you! Any of us will think him honoured by your choice of him as your husband. But, in conscience before all, listen to me, my sweet friend; and let me counsel you to reflect well, before you ratify your father's selection of me. He indeed has given you to me; but I advise you to choose better. I have led a life of labour from my boyhood up; and have suffered much, and fear I have yet much to suffer. I have to defend myself both from the emperor and the infidels. Besides which I made a vow, while in irons, to go to St. Leonard's in Aquitaine, as soon as I should be set free. So how could we promise ourselves time for the delights of Hymen, since I am obliged so soon to expose myself to the risks of the seas and direct my steps to a distant country? These considerations, my dearest mistress, cannot but engage you to choose another for indissoluble partner. Behold Roger, son of Prince Richard, my cousin; he is younger and with greater talents, more handsome than I am, and, my equal in power and riches; I wish you to marry

him." And in fact (adds the chronicler) Roger espoused her; and they led a life of cloudless felicity.¹

It is nearly certain that Tancred must have had some of Gerard's recent knights, and part, at least of his eighty Norman horse, both in his Galilean expedition, and that battle near Aleppo; but how many of them were slain there, no record remains to tell. Nor if any of them were companions of Godfrey's last feats southward, in which he caught a fever from bad air, or, as the Moslems affirm,² in consequence of a wound received near Acre "the light of the world" fell sick, was lifted from his horse at Joppa, and thence was carried in a litter to Jerusalem; where he lingered in dreadful pain for five weeks, and expired on the 17th of July, A.D., 1100.³ 1100
Whether he ever swayed the sceptre, is doubtful, nor is it any matter; he had the prerogative, and deserved it. Baldwin had gone home to his own dominions of Edessa (now Orfa); but on hearing of his brother's death, and his own election, ceded Edessa to his cousin Baldwin de

¹ Albericus Vitalis, Angl.—Bibl. Crois., i. 315.

² Arab. Chron., 17.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 11.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 345.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1100.

Bourg, and with most praiseworthy ambition, vindicated his royal inheritance—his other brother having gone to Europe—and set off for Jerusalem on a most difficult march, with an escort of seven hundred horse, and some infantry; the more requisite, that dissensions disquieted the Holy City, from the undue pretensions of the Patriarch, who seems to have been somewhat of a demagogue; yet extremely wrong—for it was not, who should reign in Jerusalem, but who would defend it with his life! Nor is it clear whether any of Gerard's order formed the deputation of knights sent to receive Baldwin. But he was one of the great Normans, and followed close on Godfrey, as a donor to the order. If to be King of Jerusalem, then, was a thing to be coveted, it was at the post of peerless honour, that is of the highest danger—and not for anything else. It was rather a duty, than acquisition. For the Kings of Jerusalem were neither powerful nor rich; and Baldwin in Orfa had been both.¹ But he was eminently a soldier, and willingly gave the preference to glory. And so well was that felt at the time, that the Duke of Normandy never got any credit for refusing the Jerusalem throne, which, upon his refusal, the

¹ Bongars: Guibert.—Bib. Crois., i. 133.—Michaud: Hist., vi. 68.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1101.

crusaders had voted to Godfrey. But Normandy was blamed¹ as wanting heart, and that though courageous in usual things, and even distinguished at Ascalon and Nice in several battles, he had not courage enough to accept that loftiest of all earthly positions, exposed to perils and toils as supereminent. And it was attributed to the Divine wrath, and a just judgment of God on the dastard who preferred his dukedom and the crown of England, to which he was next heir, that he was never after successful in anything; but lost his birth-right, and died in a dungeon. It is an injustice to Baldwin to receive the *gaudens de hereditate* in any other sense. His heritage was indeed magnanimity alone.² They say that his whole reign was one continuous fight, for that he was less of a politician than Godfrey.³ So, after a week in his metropolis, he advanced on Ascalon, and in a battle between Jaffa and Ramla, overthrew the Egyptian army under Saad-eddaulè, to whom the astrologers had predicted death from a fall of his horse; so when Emir of Beyroot, where the streets are slippery and stony, he had the stones gathered and carried away. But it was labour in vain; for, in escaping

¹ Michaud: Hist., i. 351.

² Id.: Id., ii. 14.

³ Vertot: Hist. de Malte, i. 67.—Bosio, &c.

from Ramla, he fell with his horse and was killed.¹

The victorious Baldwin then marched south-east towards Hebron and the Dead Sea, to terrify the Saracens, who had recently annoyed Christian pilgrims, whereupon the former hid in caverns they had to be smoked out of, not dissimilar from the inroads the French have been lately constrained to in Algeria. On the south of the great asphaltic lake, they took a town, and penetrated to the Arabian mountains, where they found snow, and the whole army were obliged to bivouac in holes in the rock, the entire country abounding in such hiding-places, with no other food than dates, and such wild animals as they could kill, and the pure water from occasional excellent springs and fountains.² And they visited with respect a monastery called St. Aaron, on the spot where Moses and Aaron spoke with God, and tarried for three days in a beautiful valley clad with palms, and full of all kinds of fruit, and the very place where Moses had made a source bubble up from the flanks of an arid rock, and where the chronicler declares he watered his mule, and Baldwin his cavalry, after which he turned towards Jerusalem, passing by

¹ Arab. Chron., 17. ² Michaud: Hist., ii., 17.

where were buried the ancestry of Israel, and was anointed and crowned king at Bethlehem by the Patriarch; not following Godfrey's example in this quite, yet surely in part, since he was crowned at Bethlehem, not exactly in the city, where his Saviour was crowned with thorns.¹ Even so, what Baldwin took at Bethlehem was like no mortal crown, but in some degree resembled Christ's, and a pious action, full of danger, misery, and self-sacrifice.² The spot where his coronation took place was in a most neglected state years ago, and worse now.³ Baldwin the First's next act was to hold a court and council of all the grantees at Jerusalem, in Solomon's palace,⁴ as well as putting into effect his brother's compilation, the assize of Jerusalem, by a solemn establishment of the bench of judicature. Any difficulties were quickly overcome by the cital of Godfrey, whose very name had a sanctified authority inappealable. Again, in 1101, upon a military advance beyond Jordan, an act of sweet and noble charity merited the oath of a Mussulman never to forget the generosity of Baldwin.

¹ Hallam: *Middle Ages*, i., 26. Note 1.

² Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 18.

³ *Id.*: *Corr. d'Orient*, iv. 215.

⁴ *Id.*: *Hist.*, ii. 19.

Assur capitulated next, and Cæsarea fell by assault with frightful carnage; in all which enormities the Genoese took a conspicuous part, as their own
1101 historian testifies, who was there present;¹ and there the great emerald was taken which in our own days turned out to be a bit of glass, as all could see, when it was broken by accident.² A second and greater victory was gained over the Egyptians; Baldwin the First, on his courser named Gazelle, from its swiftness, leaving no safety but to such Moslems as had horses of wondrous rapidity. In new battle, Count Harpin having volunteered some prudent counsels: "Harpin," replied the monarch, "if you are afraid, go back to Bourges." Yet the Christian army was for the most part slaughtered, and, if Baldwin was saved, he owed it to the generous gratitude of the Turk he had been kind to the year before. Old Raymond of St. Gilles had taken Tortosa and Gibel, and Acre also yielded to the Christians, but after the most cruel breach of faith in the Genoese allies; till at length, by Baldwin's personal interposition, those of the Mahometans that were yet unmurdered were permitted to retire, and Acre became inhabited by Christians.

¹ Caffaro: book 1.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 24.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1131.

In 1104, Bohemond, Tancred, Baldwin de 1104
Bourg, at that time Count of Edessa, and his
first cousin, Joscelin de Courtenai, Lord of Turbes-
sel, laid siege to Carrhes, beyond the Euphrates, that
city of Abraham's father, and of Crassus, and a
rescue of Turcomans coming, the Christians fled,
and Bohemond and Tancred followed them with
difficulty, and Joscelin and Baldwin de Bourg
were made prisoners, and remained in captivity for
five years. So the Mahometans resuming courage,
besieged Edessa several times, and threatened both
Turbessel and Antioch, and ravaged the whole
country.¹

Bohemond, leaving his capital, stole off to
Europe to seek succours; and married the daughter
of the King of France, and ended his stormy days
by coming to die at Tarentum; though others say
at Antioch, on the last of February, 1105.² The
indefatigable and aged Count of Tripoli, about 1106,
was killed by a fall from the roof of the castle of
Monte Pellegrino, to-day that of the citadel of
Tripoli.³ His son came with a fleet in 1108, and died
in 1109.⁴

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 25.

² Oderic Vitalis.—Bib. Crois., i. 318.

³ Michaud : Histoire, ii. 41.—Cod. Dip. Geros., i. 405, 407.—
Arab. Chron., 22.

⁴ Michaud : Hist., ii. 41.

In 1112, Tancred died at Antioch. “It
1112 will, by Heaven, be a very vile generation when
the high name of Tancred ceases to be in honour,”
Godfrey used to say. To boast of one’s own bravery
was in the purest spirit of Paganism; but only
Christianity could inspire the heroic magnanimity
of Tancred, when he bade his squire swear never to
relate his feats to any one. Sublimar than chiefs
of Homer or Virgil is he above even the love of
praise. It surpasses the heroic age. Yet is this
reference to another world quite in unison with our
religion.¹ Many of the gallant Normans who had
been the earliest protectors of the order, were now
gone; yet its high-minded founder still lived—
almost young indeed in years, but a broken-down,
woful cripple, and with ruined health. He had
once hoped to be cured, and what he had said as a
melancholy threat to Tancred, turned out to be too
true.

He that morning fancied he exaggerated, but did
not. So in truth a decrepit, and, as it were, aged
man. But he had the consolation to see his order
growing up to notice, and acquiring every day
well-merited fame and power, more than realising
all his warmest dreams of glory. The Norman

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 46.—*Cod. Dip. Geros.*, i. 405; vi. 12.

feats at Jerusalem may be all fairly ascribed to Gerard and his order; and rather, indeed, that it existed as a Latin or Christian city at all. The same may be said of his imitators, the Templars and Teutonics; but as yet they did not exist, or if the individuals existed, it was but as French or German Hospitallers, or their followers. It was in the spirit of those times that the local spiritual authority assented, till recourse to Rome. But, however Norman influence abbreviated that process, and hastened the Papal answers, it required a longer life than was allowed to poor Godfrey. One basis to both the assize, order, and the conduct of several of the crusade, who, returning to Europe, as the Duke of Brittany, the Count¹ of Flanders (more particularly, perhaps, in France, but also in England², whence Henry the First's charter, and in Germany Lothaire's³), these lords coming home from the first crusade, affranchised, chartered, or otherwise softened the institutions of feudalism.

All those three currents of benevolence derived from the same pure source, the principles of northern freedom, which, wherever it originated, was brought south by the Goths from Scandinavia.

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, i., 398.

² Hallam: *Middle Ages*, ii. 36. Note (2).

³ Id. Id. i. 323. Note (1).

Assize, order, and charters had the same holy basis. The assize was a modification to Oriental ways of thinking, and the Greek; the order to its peculiar circumstances. But in both were preserved a representative body, the trial by jury, and many other seeds of true liberty, that with astonishment men now see their own glorious constitutional government was certainly in the meditation of both Godfrey and Gerard, who selected the perhaps only secure manner by which such a country, and at such a period, could preserve the treasure—not made indeed for that wild discordant multitude whom liberty could only set mad, nor for a state of permanent civil war, or hostility of any sort, but for happier ages, permitted to expect.¹ A writer not to be suspected of partiality to the crusades, regards the code as from the well-springs of freedom.

Yet Gibbon could only judge by the heavy tome compiled two hundred and sixty-six years later, and which affords food for blame and derision, and no doubt much trash and iniquitous customs were then foisted into what pretended to be a copy of the original deposited by Godfrey, which could scarcely but be brief; to be compiled, legalised,

¹ Ibelin, Count of Jaffa copied (as he says) the Assizes of Godfrey. But this was not "the Code so precious and so portable." Dec. and Fall, xi. p. 94, and Notes.

and consigned within a few months, since Godfrey's whole reign was limited to a year. But that the laws of Godfrey were in the general estimation of the Norman is proved by that other Baldwin, who becoming Emperor of Constantinople in 1204, "adopted the *Assizes de Jerusalem* as best adapted to a French colony in the East."¹ In the course of these first twelve years of the order, how much was effected! A chronicler, who visited Jerusalem within a few years after the first crusade, found it had its church newly built, and a splendid mansion for above two thousand men.² Godfrey himself had founded an hospital in Jerusalem for the poor;³ so that in that respect there would have been no need of the order's (*and that must be specified*), for by a casualty Godfrey's was dedicated to St. John, which led to mistakes; but it stood in quite another part of the city, and had nothing to do with the order's, which was exclusively for crusaders, who then went by the name of *poor* or *Christ's poor*, without any reference to wealth. In comparison of *Him* are we not all poor? This large mansion, or *Xenodochia*, lay exactly opposite the Holy Sepulchre, alongside of its own church; both of which buildings, church and man-

¹ Dec. and Fall, xi. 246.

² P. A. Paoli: 62.

³ Id.: 117.

sion, were so majestic and fine, that it was represented by some critics as a most indecent rivalry with that in honour of Christ.¹

But that sneer was of posterior times. The chronicler, who came soon after the first crusade, extols the grandeur and beauty and noble hospitality. Where there were two thousand guests, and at such a time, there must often have been sick or wounded, and these were of course removed into the infirmary belonging to the house, and for none but pilgrims or crusaders. That the knights had to sustain the principal military duties in Jerusalem, and all through Palestine, from the very beginning, is quite certain; nor had they then any other of the military orders to assist them; nor in those first twelve years were there any other knights mentioned than the Hospitallers of St. John, that is, St. John the Baptist; for as to the almsgiver, it is all a humbug, nor the least worth discussion; indeed, only for the respectable publication that recently repeated the nonsense, it should not be mentioned here in the least.

That such could be accomplished only by a union of enterprising sovereigns, requires no debate. But not only sovereigns, but that these were

¹ P. A. Paoli: 373.

almost immediately reinforced by a group of private individuals, is likewise true; so that a multitude signalized themselves in the same way. Of the few deeds extant still, and gathered together by an Italian gentleman, that by Godfrey is followed close by Brisset and Roberts in London; and others in Sicily, the south of France, and the north of Prussia, and Hungary, and Germany. This rapidity would be altogether incredible, had Gerard not been a Norman prince.¹ Flanders and Hainaut were then included in Normandy, as they had been in the old Roman Neustria; although soon to be otherwise. In later crusades, as many colours as nations; every nation had its own. But in the first crusade, the French wore the red cross, and all other Latins the white or Norman, even the Flemings; and these, who took the green cross in every succeeding crusade, and no few Germans, then, as well as many others, were erected into a division which was called the Norman party, who, by that means, could balance France itself, and formed a full half of the crusading warriors. Geographical distinctions being then little attended to as transitory, but the ties of blood and alliances were stabler. Not merely Neustria, but all in every royal house in Europe

¹ P. A. Paoli : 456-7.

who could boast of a single drop of Norman blood, were Normans. The Counts of Flanders, Hainaut, and Bouillon, are styled Normans, and were bound by a direct treaty to keep William the Norman on the English throne. Hainaut, turned by the Germans into Egenau, and by the Latins and Italians into Anonia, or Eno, makes the sovereigns of Anonia be Anauci, and by corruption Amauci; and the same person is indiscriminately named Count of Anonia, or Hainaut, or Avesne, or Amauci, or Dell Monte.¹ So Gerard's proposal was like a circular (with Godfrey's consent as his near relative and sovereign), not only to all the Normans, but to all Europe; and indeed, more, all Christians, for that they should all benefit by what he had projected. All crusaders and pilgrims, each according to his station, and earthly circumstances; a king or emperor, like a king or emperor; a knight, a nobleman, like such; an inferior, like an inferior, each as he had been accustomed to, or a little better, all fed and lodged in the houses and halls of the order, and when sick, in its infirmaries; all protected and escorted both in coming and going. To treat all alike, would be to maltreat all.

¹ P. A. Paoli: 460, 472.

According to the best habits of each, and education and manners, and place in society, and charitable feeling on the whole; such is the cheer to be expected in the order's houses, and no vain attempt at what is impossible—equality. Their corps must therefore include many nations and languages, and different degrees of gentle birth; with a rule binding the members in the sight of God and man—honour and religion, obedience the promptest, and superhuman valour. No minor considerations, but the universally received rites of Christianity; not theologians, but soldiers; qualified, so they take the rule's oath, though rule and oath may be modified with time. Gothic freedom generalized far beyond the most exalted sentiments of patriotism. Feelings of home suffocated, nor wife nor child must weaken or distract those who are to be always exposed to such frightful dangers, and bound to escort feeble wanderers through so many hostile countries, beset with infidels, robbers, and murderers. Brave man is he, who endured for moments what must be habitual with them; permanent to death. Their hearts must so frequently be harder than iron. "I know," said Gerard to his aspirants, "that there are many valiant people now, who act as honour and their creed prescribe. Yet nothing will satisfy me, or come up to the

scope of this project, except a greater generosity and valour than the world has ever yet seen, even in our own marvellous Normans. That sublime daring and existing out of ourselves, which has visited other heroes for a brief space; must in you have a perpetual residence. Reflect profoundly well then before you enter what demands such singular self-devotedness. You may be very brave, without being brave enough for us. Such supernatural excitement of mind and body must soon wear out life. That wear and tear will suffice, without any other wound. It is living ages in a minute. Yet even Pagans have thought it a fine thing to die young. And Turks, and Turcomans, and clouds of most ferocious Saracens at hand, you must be prepared to die. If you wish any chance of life, join other crusades and armies, with whom you may gain great honour, and eventually return to Europe and enjoy it there for life." And to Godfrey he had said, "Of extreme hardihood, and well mounted and armed, and of fanatical audacity are these Turks; as reckless of life as Saracens ever were, and proud of being worthy to be slaughtered in the service of Mahomet, and for the glory of Islam; and these you are to face with a minority of numbers as perfectly miraculous as ten to a hundred thousand. Divided, impoverished,

helpless, as this kingdom is, none can protect it; but only possibly a corps of the transcending spirit proposed, a selection of the most valiant of all Christendom. And it must begin with those who, it is allowed, are pre-eminent above all others at present in existence, our own Normans." Was it not natural that Tancred, to whom knighthood seemed far superior to any monarchy, should have enthusiastically undertaken what he was ordered? And that the Norman chiefs heard him with applause? And other Normans all over Christendom hurried with donations, as soon as they received the circular?

Lands and tenements in Europe had been so cheapened and reduced nearly to worthlessness by the emigration of the first crusade, and in Palestine by the fluctuation of all property during so many wars, and principally the Saracenic, that so mighty a foundation was practicable and timely. It required all that patronage. It was as natural an effect of the first crusade, as the crusade of the disorderly state of Europe. Urgency brought that necessary simultaneousness, quite characteristic of the institution in all its parts, from the founder's mind, into complete action. A chronicler, while Godfrey was alive, saw their church building, and the knights mounting their horses for battle, and

crowds of pilgrims in their Xenodochia, and sick in their temporary infirmary.¹ It is enough to know what they did, to know they had the means of doing it. Now, French historians tell us it required one of the richest estates in France to purchase a battle horse and equip one single knight.² What but a league of Norman sovereigns could have compassed it? A mind like Gerard's always finds a propitious time and fitting instrument. But had he not been a Norman prince, himself, could he have persuaded them to league? He knew how to use them, and was worthy of them. That is all—and everything. "My order must not be mere men," he said, "but superior to men, and proper companions for that S. George and S. Demetrius against whom those green demons—or angels, as the Saracens pretend—come down on green horses to join Islam in fight."³ He must be guilty of an anachronism who thinks there was a Latin human being, or hospital or monastery, in Jerusalem, when taken at the first crusade. A little earlier or later, but not then, Godfrey built the church called Latina, and gave

¹ The chronicler wrote in his old age 1150, what he had seen in his youth, a great many years before. P. A. Paoli : 67

² Michaud : Hist., i. 83.

³ Arab. Chron., 41.

it to the Benedictines; far from finding it there;¹ just as the Wurtzburgh Chronicler says, who writes what he saw many a year previous to William of Tyre. Then not by negligence is the *Latina* omitted in the Benedictine texts of that period, but really because it did not then exist.

If this remark be considered superfluous, yet it may be necessary towards an error of long standing. That the ancient period of the order was never written by contemporaries, is to be deplored, perhaps; but it does not follow that we are to exult for Tyre's writing a fable. Better nothing than learn what is false. The mystery of ignorance, as to its creation, would be more dignified than what could not be true. It would have had its heroic age. No harm for that. Such an origin as the country of Socrates, or immortal Rome. Or are you of those who believe that, body and all, Romulus went up after preparing with a fratricide? Rare capacity of swallow! Its head hidden in ambiguity like the Nile or Pyramids. But that can no longer be the case now. Off with the fables, and plain truth in their place. Legal documents have only to be accurately examined and strung together. But, unfortunately, instead of avowing ignorance, and letting the world wait

¹ P. A. Paoli: 89.

until now, there was a fable ready made, in complete contradiction to any narrative that could be formed from documentary evidence. So Pantaleone, Bosio, Vertot, and all the historians following them, found it more convenient to uphold and disseminate that fable concerning a Nineveh of which it was supposed all records were irreparably lost.

And now behold they are come to light, and the whole scaffolding is wrong, and must be overturned to get at the truth. It nettles to be obliged to do any such work. Double labour, both fable and narrative; the former more wearisome to remove, than to weave the latter. Disheartening to have to set out with what may lead to cruel, perhaps flippant ridicule. It may disgust my reader, but it is necessary to overturn the common basis of a whole progeny, some of them esteemed, and deserving of esteem, though in this particular they are in error. Then the entire of what William of Tyre says respecting the origin of the order, is totally erroneous; that is, of its having changed its institution under its second chief. The documents come down to us disprove it. They all are absolutely irreconcilable with any great change; but show that the rule was from the very commencement pretty much what has come down to our own times, modified a little occasionally,

according to the times, but only a little. If that be conceded now, it will become as evident to the reader, as it is to the writer, upon glancing over the documents that shall be given in the appendix. Tyre is a good authority for the third crusade, where he was present, but not for the first. In this, France's excuse for him is, that he had too high a mind to submit to the trammels of truth,¹ and that experience must confess that on some subjects he is less intelligible and trustworthy than other chroniclers.² Why, with your eyes open, continue your mistake?

But before perusing the documents, recollect that words vary as to their signification in different centuries, and that in that of the crusades *pilgrim* was not a transitory thing, but a real and highly honourable title, that remained during life, like that of Haggi among Mahometans even now; that the cross of the crusaders was worn suspended from the neck in the third crusade, but that at the beginning of the first crusade was as the order wears it;³ that the poor, Christ's poor, are not what they at present signify, but meant crusaders, brethren in arms, or wives and children of

¹ La verité lui parait un fardeau penible. Michaud : Hist., vi. 359.

² Michaud : Hist., ii. 7, Note. ³ P. A. Paoli : 99.

knights, or such like, who came with proper certificates bearing the cross; all classes of Christians, yet but few of the lower, from the length of the journey; and most of the middling and noble, and some of the very highest.¹ Nothing was more timely or simpler than the order.² Hospitality included the military defence of Jerusalem. Beautiful idea, and that argued a most holy and bright mind. Universal favour and gratitude. No surprise; the chronicler cited by Paoli saw with his own eyes what others only wrote of from hearsay, forty years (or more) later. Pope Innocent Second in 1130, says the Hospitallers had been used *long* to keep cavalry (paid by themselves) to defend the Christians both in going and coming, and to protect the Holy Sepulchre and Palestine itself, and therefore he calls on all people to contribute as much as they can to so useful an institution, either by entering it, or by being affiliated to it. That was written nine years from Gerard's death, but as it speaks of *long* before, it must refer to the order in its founder's lifetime. Quite the reverse then of what is pretended. But those knights were rather for action than pen, and had a great deal too much to do to write, or attend to

¹ P. A. Paoli: 91, 100, 101.

² Id. 102.

writers, and those who wrote their annals, knew nothing about them. Baron Giordan Brisset's donation in London, as early as 1100, that in Messina in 1101, and a few others, are given now at this review of the order, twelve years after its formation.¹ But most of the documents to be cited a little later refer to these years also. Only I defer gathering them, till their respective dates. The order was born under Pasqual Second, and his bull we have. Also two documents of Calixtus Second, and of Honorius Second.² Neither the prudence of Bosio, nor what is called the inspiration of Vertot, are requisite to account for a change in the order, since change in the order there was none.³

The King of Arragon calling them to defend Spain in 1131, quite agrees with their being veteran warriors for thirty-two years before,⁴ but not five or six years; warriors designated as the *Santa Milizia* under Baldwin I.⁵ The Templars had not been yet established in Baldwin I.'s time.⁶ Other castles to churchmen; but great fortresses were only given to those who could defend them, and that taken by Baldwin I., in 1101, was to the Hos-

¹ P. A. Paoli: 112 and 375.—Appendix, Num. i., ii., iii.

² P. A. Paoli: 119.—Ap., No. v. ³ P. A. Paoli: 120.

⁴ Id. 127. ⁵ Id. 134.

⁶ Id. 134.

pitallers.¹ Joppa had been given to Gerard himself.² But most of the chief places in Palestine were given to the Hospitallers, from their creation in 1099 to 1105.³ Bow, and in honour for the fidelity of an historian, prove the truth.⁴ Yes! But give time! Later, a Grand Master of the Temple protests that his order's scope was different from that of the Hospitallers; since theirs was founded for hospitality and the military profession, whereas his was for the military profession alone.⁵ Edward IV. and the English tribunals held the two institutions identically the same; or rather the nearest of relatives, the first being as the father, and the Temple as the eldest son. Who could St. Bernard have thought of, since when he spoke, there was no other military than Gerard's in the world, deserving to be called heroes and martyrs? Could nine men (as the future Templars were but then) have performed such wonders, and already gained so high a reputation?⁶ For military alone would be but to imitate one (indeed the first) of the three great duties of hospitality—care of the sick was but the third.⁷ Brompton goes nearer to the fact.

¹ P. A. Paoli: 136.

² Id. 137.

³ Id. 138.

⁴ Id. 141.

⁵ Id. 144 and 145.

⁶ Id. 147.

⁷ Id. 168.

As Godfrey did not choose to be called King, he calls himself Advocate, or Protector (*Præpositus*), in his letter to the Pope.¹ As Bohemond was *Præpositus* of Antioch, and Baldwin of Edessa; so was Gerard *Præpositus* of the Hospitallers. It was then confessedly a royal title, and equivalent to a recognition of sovereignty.² In after ages it became insignificant; but at that time it was as said. The Pope—at that time a high authority—knew what he wrote. He likewise calls Gerard's successor *Præpositus* at first, but afterwards changes to Grand Master. The first was undoubtedly in consideration of Gerard's royal birth, and the latter the fixed name that was to be legal for the future.

"Servant of Christ's Poor" means, then, Protector of Crusaders and of Christian Pilgrims.³ The Papal deeds are always very exact in giving titles; not so individuals.⁴ *Venerable* was then an epithet that, as to laymen, was only given to princes and lords of the greatest consideration, including the King of France, to whom it belonged exclusively, according to Mabillon.⁵ Roger, son of Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and afterwards of Antioch, in writing a letter to Gerard, gives him precisely the

¹ P. A. Paoli: 183.

² Id. 184.

³ Id. 186.

⁴ Id. 185.

⁵ Id. 187 and 188.

same title he gave to his own father. How full of charity those first Hospitallers were! for there is a description come down to our day of what was an *old custom* in 1185, and would not be an old custom without sixty or seventy years' standing; which brings us back to Gerard's time—what care of crusaders' children, male or female, and abandoned infants, and of alms to the imprisoned, and that they should be clad as soon as liberated, and of marriage portions to poor girls, and of food and clothing to all who asked it three times a-week, without limit as to number; that thirty-five necessitous people shall participate in the table of the knights every day, and be given clothes first; that there shall be workmen, and a tailor's room for the indigent to have their raiment mended every day, and a thousand coats to be distributed to them on certain occasions; and many similar most generous benefactions.¹ These are taken from a fragment of what is manifestly a comment on the rule, and an explanation of it.²

Short-sighted politicians indeed are those who see nothing in the crusade but folly. The Christian cause was that of freedom, and led not alone to the Holy Sepulchre, but likewise to the doctrines of

¹ P. A. Paoli : 202.

² Id. 205.

learned and polished antiquity. Not only desire of fanatical pilgrimage, but also war against dangerous and far more fanatical invaders.¹ In 1112, there was a donation from Seville; and if a Moor was there then, yet Alphonso VI., King of Castille, was in alliance with him, and married his daughter;² and Alphonso had been in Jerusalem in 1099, and met his stepson, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles.³ A house was in Cesarea in 1109;⁴ and in Joppa, Accaron, Rama, St. George's by King Baldwin in 1110.⁵ In 1112 in Pisa. The Pisans were a great people by sea then, and their archbishop was the first Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem; but the earliest unanswerable document come down to us is in 1113, which Papal bull confirms the donation in Pisa of the year before.⁶ In 1112 in St. Gilles. More is likely; but to be so, and to prove it, are very different things. All we can now affirm is, that we have certain proof it was erected before 1113; since, in the bull of that date, this too of St. Gilles is confirmed by name.⁷ In the same 1112, at Asti in Piedmont.⁸ In Bari, Otranto, and

¹ Michaud : Hist. Crois.—Chateaubriant : Itin.

² P. A. Paoli : 396. ³ P.A.Paoli:397. Cod. Dip., Ger.i. 406.

⁴ Id. 399. ⁵ Id. 391.

⁶ Id. 392.

⁷ Id. 393. Vaisette's Hist. of Languedoc, ii. 16.

⁸ Id. 394.

Taranto, the same.¹ In 1111, there are several donations by Antioch proprietors, during the guardianship of Tancred, and also under Bohemond II., just out of minority.²

In 1107, Villedieu, in Normandy, one of the greatest establishments in the order, by Henry I., King of England; for Duchesne, Martinez, and the encyclopædias are certainly wrong by eighty years. Villedieu signifies Teopoli, which was the original name given it at Antioch.³ But Villedieu was not a single manor, but a whole magnificent tract of country, with several parishes and a large population.⁴ The pilgrims had built a fortress on a hill near Tripoli, in 1103, for Raymond of St. Gilles, or Count of Toulouse, who was soon to become Lord of Tripoli; and to commemorate its being built by them all, he gave it the name of *Pilgrim Mount*, and in 1105 left it to the Hospitallers, and in 1106 he had the fall which killed him.⁵ "He fell from the roof down into a fire that we, the besiegers, had lit," say the Mahometans; "and after languishing for ten days died, and the corpse of that aged count (whom God curse) was carried to Jerusalem to be

¹ P. A. Paolio: 394.

² Id. 386.

³ Id. 387.—Bernardus Thesaurarius Chron., 188.

⁴ Id. 387.—Hist. Norman, 308, Dono, &c.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. i., Num. xi.

buried.”¹ All which is proved by the document come down to us: “Not only Pilgrim Mount itself, with its guest-house for crusaders, but all that belongs to it, and its villa, as my father gave it, and what was given it by my grandfather, Sir Raymond, with all the trees of every kind that are under it, and the waters, the pastures, mills, gardens, &c., &c.”² This *Chateau des Pelerins* is the citadel of the present Tripoli or Tarabolos, says Poujoulat in 1831.³ Of Godfrey’s,⁴ and also of Brisset’s, and that of 1101 in Messina already. The size of their residence in Jerusalem was necessary, and their wealth, what a city to defend! what charity! But it was the charity of all Christendom! Baldwin confirmed what Godfrey had done; thence more clearly Gerard’s wide scope. In twelve years from the creation, what vast yet requisite acquisitions! for if the rent-roll was great, how great the expenses! how copious the proofs! Yet it is only a small part of them that could come down to us. A glance at the diplomatic compilation! In 1099, the founder chose where to build in Jerusalem; and very possibly a church may once have stood on the

¹ Arab. Chron., 22. ² P. A. Paoli: 383.

³ Michaud: Orient., vi. 386.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 374.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. ii., Num. xii.—Appendix, Num. xix., xx., xxi.

same spot, but that is not proved. The chronicler had seen it new many years before he wrote. He wrote in 1150 what he had seen forty years earlier, then in 1110. That is all that is certain. For aught we know, he erected his from the foundations.¹ Also in 1100, in the north of Europe; and the deed is preserved in the Brandenbourg Collection; and by Ludwig in his work on MS. and Giorgisch.² The lake was called Swerin, and the country, before the town was built, and erected into a county for the sovereigns general Gunzel; as was the case in 1163,³ under Henry the Lion. Godfrey had known Gunzel on his march to Constantinople. Respecting the Messina deed, already spoken of, p. 183, the son's confirming his father's donation is given; but that father died in 1106, so that the donation at latest must have been in some day of that year;⁴ and that large and early establishment in Messina was necessary, from its being the port to sail for Palestine.⁵ Several receiverships and a grand priory were there even from the first; the less surprising from the sovereign's being a Norman,

¹ P. A. Paoli: 372.

² Id. . 376.—Appendix, Num. i.

³ Com. Geography: i. 22, fol. London, 1709.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 379.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 237. Num. cxii.

and the Normans were known all over the world as the order's natural protectors.¹

Its house at Altenmunster has the testimony of Falkenstein, who attributes it to Henry first Count Stephanig in the burgravite of Ratisbon,² and since that prince died in the East in 1101, it is in the same way necessary to give that date at latest to his donation.³ The facts are likewise in the Bavarian annalist,⁴ and also in Gewold.⁵ That the Baldwins, Guiscard, Bohemond, Tancred, and the Normans in general, had got some smattering of Greek, Syrian, and perhaps Arabic, may be likely; and it accounts for various words, as *turcopolier*.⁶ Of *Turcopili* we read in old chronicles they were light cavalry, but on other occasions they had *cuirasses*. There were a corps of them kept by the Emperor of Constantinople. Right or not, it is said they were so called from being born of a Greek female by a Turk. *Milites* meant knights or heavy horse; and *turcopili* light, whether foot or horse. But Vertot, like Paoli, seems to think that all that is not cavalry must be infantry; yet cavalry on foot had been tried with success at

¹ P. A. Paoli: 380. ² Antiq. Nondg. ii., 368.

³ Id.: 381.

⁴ John Aventine: Ad. Ann. fol. 654.

⁵ De Septemviratu: 89. ⁶ P. A. Paoli: 346.

Antioch, and had taken Jerusalem; and Hawkwood showed later that his dismounted cuirassiers were an impenetrable phalanx.¹ No reason then but we may think *turcopili* to be both cavalry and infantry, light and heavy, so mercenaries and not knights.² In truth if servants-at-arms and *milites* mean heavy, and *milizia a cavallo* light cavalry, and *milizia soldata* infantry; then must *turcopili* mean something else—why not both?³ As ancient as the order were the servants-at-arms. Whoever knows anything of these times, knows that a knight could not do without them. They were the squires who rode by their master always. Each knight of the Hospitallers had *two*, and the grand master *three*. They formed an intrinsic part of the order; squires expected to become knights; but these rarely or never left their class. Nor were they like lay-brothers, who share not at all in the principal scope of a monastic fraternity, nor vote. But the servants-at-arms were not like menial servants, for the knights had menial servants too; but rather like under officers; for they principally served in the first scope of the order—its military duties—and in battle they were dressed precisely like the knights. On all occasions these admitted them to

¹ Sismondi: Hist. des Rep. Ital.

² P. A. Paoli: 348. ³ P. A. Paoli: 345.

their table conversation and familiarity. They were in society on a kind of footing with them. They also voted for the election of the grand master.¹ Yet did they form an inferior class, and hardly rose higher, and were satisfied with it. They had sworn to it. It was with their eyes open. This also was an invention of Gerard's, and built on a profound knowledge of mankind, and a far finer matter than people think. To make a class strictly embodied and tied down to the rule by vows, as much as the knights themselves (so just as much obliged by honour, conscience and probity), yet of acknowledged inferiority; and taking an active part in the legislature and loftiest duties of the profession, and even in the voting for the chief of their superiors, was a grand idea; and in Gerard was original; but has been imitated. No base service but military service, the very leading aim of the whole. Therefore the class of the servants-at-arms were always just as much to be depended on as the knights, and they were never discontented.² The aggregated (devotional, or honorary, or females) without exactly forming a part of the order, were closely linked to it from the beginning by Gerard himself.³

¹ P. A. Paoli: 331. ² Id.: 330. ³ Id.: 333, 336, 340.

The first crusade, that changed the whole face of society, operated first on tactics; and began the great military revolution that led to gunpowder.¹

There were churches and established houses of the order in England, Sicily,² and Palestine before 1112, and at Arles in France in 1105, and many other places. *Fra* has often changed meaning. There was a time when it meant *Knight*, and that time was Gerard's; so he applied it to his companions.³ And in English it must not be translated Sir. Baldwin is *Fra*, Robert Duke of Normandy is *Fra*. "We are all brethren and equals by the rights of brotherhood," says Bohemond, and calls Godfrey, "Prince and regulator of all his brethren." Another Robert who was an Hospitaller in England in 1100, and was mere Sir, is called in Italian *Fra*; which shows how soon that word was, as it were, appropriated by the order.⁴ The Templars followed the same use, though they had no clerical class, but reformed it away, as well the two other great duties of hospitality, and only kept the first, or military.⁵ As to the form of Gerard's cross, there is much idle learning, and the common, is probably the true; that like many other things, it has a

¹ P. A. Paoli : 337.

² Id. : 398.

³ Id. : 247.

⁴ Id. : 260.

⁵ Id. : 262.

secondary as well as its principal meaning; and besides being a general Christian sign, the crusaders' cross was made a little different to denote that particular body of Christians; and that for the same purpose Gerard modified still more that of the crusaders, to apply it as a distinctive mark for those of the permanent crusade—his own order.¹ The tunic, birro, and mantle had, all three, the sign. Under them, what you pleased, shirt, flannel, or even cuirass, but those three were the crusader's dress. The tunic might be either over or under the cuirass, and was girt round tight, and reached to just below the knee.² The birro was a short narrow stripe of cloth, with a hole to receive the head, and then falling on the breast and half way down the back, having the cross both behind and before; nor worn under, but over everything; and at all times this was the most essential article and never laid by; leaving the elbows quite free and answering for a coat of arms.³ The mantle might be worn on the shoulder, or drawn round or not at all, according to the weather. This mantle is represented still by that worn by the knights at their profession, and is black with the white cross.⁴ As to the purse and broad girdle, they were worn

¹ P. A. Paoli: 228.

² Id.: 223.

³ Id.: 225.

⁴ Id.: 229.

but by the chief of the order. So of the first grand master that abdicated (in 1170) we read "he laid down his girdle and the seals and the purse."¹

The birro was at one time the most distinguishing part of the crusader's dress: "dressed in a birro, that is the dress of a traveller to Jerusalem," says a chronicle of the first crusade.² Many lament the loss of the early papers; but have never taken the pains to consult what exist, with the intention of giving the names of whatever of the ancient knights were yet discoverable; but here are a few, thanks to the two Paolis. The learned Bosio spends not a word about the founder's companions, and was led into this mistake by the person he sent to inspect the Vatican MS., as often happens to those who judge by others', not their own eyes.³ Vertot would perhaps have tried. But where was he to obtain the information? He did what was in his power for France by publishing the list in Provence. Neither are the three, instanced by him as the founder's companions, to be held so; for it would be to make Sir Raymond de Puys one hundred and twenty-six years old—so great an age that it requires to be proved, not supposed, being extraordinary; still worse Gaston. Canon was a

¹ P. A. Paoli: 230.

² Id.: 226.

³ Id.: 208.

married man; nor is there any document proving that either he or Dudon were of the first brethren of the order. Out of the earlier of Paoli's two rolls "both of them from authentic deeds," let those be culled that extend not beyond these twelve years. Sir Lambert, who was with Gerard when he was tortured in 1099; Sir Robert Brisset, in 1100; Sir Roger Pagano, in 1112; Sir Bertrand, Prior at Pilgrim's Mount, in 1105; Sir Gubald, through whom the house in Messina was founded in 1101; Sir Peter Mallet, at the first crusade, and of one of the most conspicuous Norman families. His elder brother Robert was one of the magnates of the Conqueror, and fought against Harold, and saw him buried, and had two fiefs in England. Sir Gerard *Sub-deacon*, Sir William Almerico, Sir Rodolph, all three in a donation dated Beyrout 1133.¹

Now, amongst all his troubles and labours, had not Gerard a great compensation in this review? His ails increasing every day, and carried about in a kind of chair, his spirit as clear as ever, he could not but exult internally at the wonderful progress of his wise and splendid project. All of military or knightly that he could now do was to inspect the

¹ Cod. Dipl. Gerosolimitano : vol. i. Num. xiv. 15.

departure of his troops and receive the victorious survivors. This was his daily duty, and it rejoiced him.

Togdekin, the Atabec or Moslem Governor of Damascus, having in those violent dissensions in Syria, partaken in various cruel treasons, murders, and robberies, so that the Assassins (or Battenians, as some call them) slew the noted robber Kalaf, a Mahometan, and the Damascan menacing Kalaf's enemies, became himself exposed to the Old Man's emissaries;¹ wherefore it is said that the unworthy Togdekin began to do everything he could, to insinuate himself into the Mountaineer's good graces. So violent and most unnatural struggles ensued, in one of which King Baldwin, with the late old Raymond's son Bertrand, took Tripoli and Beyrout, and attacked Sidon;² which last town paid a sum of money to Baldwin, and he raised the siege and returned to Jerusalem. Joscelin, Lord of Tel-bacher on the Euphrates, had declared war against Aleppo about 1110 (according to Kemaleddin) with a variety of success; but upon the whole, the Franks were evidently the gainers, and even forced the Moslems to retire from the siege of Edessa; besides, those of Sidon resolved to remove to Damascus,

¹ Ibn Mayassar: 21.—Cod. Arab.

² Arab. Chron., 24.

and left their native place to Baldwin.¹ Another Mahometan prince had to purchase peace with twenty thousand pieces of gold and ten horses. The Mahometan Prince of Aleppo engaged to become tributary to the Frank Prince of Antioch, at ten thousand pieces of gold a-year; and after Tancred's death,² the money continued to be paid to a child. Baldwin in 1112, besieged Tyre; and without taking it, advanced against Damascus, and into the Haraoun, and wrapping all in fire and blood, retreated towards Jerusalem, upon 1113 Togdekin's application for succour to Mous-sul. And on its arrival, a great battle ensued, in which Ibngiouzi says the Franks lost two thousand men, and that King Baldwin escaped with difficulty, and without his sword. The fact appears to be, that the Franks only removed to a good position; and that the Mahometans, by disease, the heats, famine, and severe fighting, were kept off for twenty-six days, and on a reinforcement coming from Antioch, were completely routed near Tiberias.³ Passing through Damascus, the Moussul leader was murdered in the mosque there by the Assassins, "but I say," writes Abulfeda, "that it was the traitor of an Atabec sent the murderer. And I was

¹ Arab. Chron. : 27.

² Id. : . 31.

³ Id. : 32.

told by my father that King Baldwin wrote to Togdekin the moment he heard of the bloody deed :
*"They who deprive themselves of their protector, and even upon a festival day, and in the very temple of their God, merit well that God should exterminate them from the face of the earth."*¹ The Mahometan also who ruled at Aleppo was a great supporter of the Assassins or Battenians at that time. And after his death in 1115, his odious son drove the emirs into a conspiracy that smothered him in his bed. Add to all which horrors an earthquake that injured Aleppo, Antioch, Haraoun, and several cities in Syria.² The sultan then sent Borsaki
 1117 from Moussul, to attack the Franks in Palestine, which was not pleasing to all the Syrian Mahometans, who feared that under this pretext the sultan wanted to seize the whole country.

So both Moslems and Christians joined against Borsaki, who passed the Euphrates without doing much, the Moslems restraining the ardour of the Franks, lest these should become the masters of Syria, if Borsaki were defeated. The end was that he and his army ran away beyond the Euphrates. All was confusion³ and frightful im-

¹ Arab. Chron. 33.

² Id. : 37.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 49.

morality. Baldwin the First, who had never ceased from taking a pre-eminent share in all the battles round him, and in military expeditions of every sort, now was to set out on his last. From east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, and traversing the Arabian Desert and Petrea, he advanced into what is indeed the third Arabia, or Arabia Felix, and even penetrated to the Red Sea and the Nile. What time it took up, or if it was in one continuous march, being uncertain; but in the spring of 1118, he was in Egypt, and falling suddenly sick, an old wound opened; the Christians wheeled, 1118 and bearing him on a litter made of their tent poles, undertook to cross the desert near El Arish, a small town situated close to the Mediterranean, having upon three sides those vast solitudes, a mighty wilderness, where he felt himself dying and thus addressed the companions of his victories,¹ the six hundred knights, who stood in profound grief round him: "Why are you weeping so? Recollect I am but a man, whom many others can replace; do not permit sorrow to weaken you, like women, but remember you have to return to Jerusalem with arms in your hands, and to be ready to fight for the inheritance of the Lord Jesus, as we have sworn.

¹ Albert Aquensis : Chron., 81.—B. Poujoulat : vol. ii. 497.

Fellow soldiers, I ask you but for one more proof of your affection ; I conjure you not to leave my remains in the land of the infidel ;" and, perceiving some demur, as if he asked a thing impossible from the natural corruption, particularly in that hot country, he added : " As soon as I have given my last sigh, rip up my body with a knife, and taking out my intestines, fill it with salt, and all the aromatic drugs you can get ; and wrapping it up in carpets, and putting it into a leathern case, you can carry it to the foot of Mount Calvary, and there inter it with the rites of the Christian Church, alongside of my brother Godfrey's grave." Then calling one of his household, he addressed him in these identical words, only in Norman French—"You see, my dear serf Edon, I am going to die ; if you have loved me in life, continue to do so after my death, and execute exactly what I bid you ; open my body, and rub it well with salt and aromatics, both within and without, no sparing of the salt ; and fill my eyes with it, my nostrils, my ears, my mouth ; then join my other servants and my dear associates, in transporting me to the Holy City ; it will be to fulfil my last wishes, and a proof of your fidelity to me to the end." Then he spoke of the succession of the Jerusalem throne, advising them to choose his brother Eustace of

Boulogne, or his cousin Baldwin de Bourg, Count of Edessa; and finally, the Christian hero received the last sacraments, that of confession and the eucharist, and expired. His mournful brethren-in-arms then set about accomplishing his ultimate desires, his intestines were buried, and a heap of stones raised over them to mark the spot, which grave or cenotaph is to be seen to this day not far from El Arish.¹

Then the Frank warriors set out on their long and doleful march across the desert, marching day and night to conceal Baldwin's death, and their own affliction; and crossing in silence the mountain of Judea, and the country of Hebron, they reached Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; on which day,² by an ancient custom, all the Christians, with the patriarch at their head, used to go in procession to the Mountain of Olives; and they were in the act of descending from it, carrying palm branches, and singing canticles to celebrate the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, when they met in the Valley of Jehosaphat, the train of Baldwin's companions, bearing his coffin, which stopped their hymns all at once, and struck first with a grievous silence, suc-

¹ That is, Abufeda's time, 1330.—Arab. Chron., 38.

² Easter Sunday was that year on the 2nd of April. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 355, Note c.

ceeded by a burst of groans, sighs and lamentations. The mortal remains of Baldwin entered by the Golden Gate, followed by the procession. Latins, Syrians, Greeks, all weeping, and even the Saracens themselves wept,¹ says Baldwin's chaplain. At the same moment Baldwin de Bourg, who, quite unconscious of what had happened, was coming in at the Damascus Gate, to pass the Easter at Jerusalem, alarmed by the plaintive cries, joined the mourners, and wailed for his lord and relative, and accompanied the funeral to Calvary, where the defunct king was laid in a tomb of white Parian marble, with the greatest pomp, alongside of Godfrey's mausoleum. Until within these late years, when it is reported that some malevolent bigotry of the Greeks induced them to wall up those two ancient monuments, every pilgrim visited with reverence the two royal brothers' tombs. Seen by Chateaubriant, Michaud found them no more. As for Mahometans (with their usual brevity), they only say: "He died before reaching El Arish, coming from Egypt. From him that part of the desert is called *the Baldwin Sands*. People think he is buried there; but it is an error; there only his entrails lie; but his body was buried at Jerusalem."²

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 55.

² Arab. Chron., 38.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. i., anno 1118.

CHAPTER IV.

EUSTACE, who, at the siege of Jerusalem had stood beside Godfrey¹ on his tower, like a lion by a lion, say the chroniclers,² as soon as he learned of both his brothers being dead, felt it was his own turn next, so came as far as Puglia to embark; for many held him the natural heir—nor does he seem to have been one who would have avoided that inheritance of glorious danger. But he was long returned to France, and had only left it during the short interval of the first crusade, and now he was separating from many dear old friends, and European con-

¹ Michaud: Hist., i. 335.

² Godfrey was the eldest. Ego Godefridus, &c., fratribus meis Balduino et Eustachio. Anno 1094. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 352. Quæ peperit Godefridum de Bullione postea Regem Hierosolimitanum, Balduinum et Eustachium. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 347, (Note e) ex. annual Belg. Ægidii di Roya.

nections and habits, which was hard; so it might not have wounded him cruelly to be spared the sacrifice. Whatever were his inward feelings, as soon as informed that his cousin had already been chosen and put into possession, and would probably make some resistance before leaving the throne, he at once exclaimed, "God forbid my ambition should cause dissensions in our family," and forthwith hurried back to the West.¹

Baldwin de Bourg, who was fortuitously at Jerusalem, as has been related, was chosen to succeed—chiefly from the time it would cost to wait for the arrival of Eustace an argument pushed strenuously by Joscelin, Lord of Tel-bacher, who was related to the new king; who if they had formerly quarrels, all these were now forgotten, and Baldwin de Bourg giving Edessa to Joscelin, assumed the Jerusalem crown himself, under the title of Baldwin II.² So he followed Godfrey's example, by administering justice according to the *assizes*. It was Easter of 1118, when he was solemnly proclaimed by the barons in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and banquet at Solomon's Palace. Penury of money, that assailed him at the very outset of his reign, was to be his permanent scourge, as well as

¹ W. of Tyre. Bib. Crois., i. 142.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 59.—Arab. Chron.: 38.

of his successors, and the cause of many of the disasters of the Latin kingdom. Terrible fights near Antioch, against an irruption of Moslems from Mesopotamia.¹ A prince of Antioch fell in the place called *field of blood*—very proper name for a battle.² That Baldwin's first act as a sovereign was to go there and gain a victory, was considered a good omen. And so it was, regarding what was fought immediately after his return to his capital. But if scarcely one of the many conflicts in Palestine since Godfrey's reign, had been without a corps of Hospitallers, "who were the nerve of every Christian army," says the Moslem,³ this of 1119, in the sense of being their first pitched battle so near Jerusalem, may be called their first field; but certainly in no other. The marshal that led them that day was a noted warrior, who must have acquired his experience in those more distant, and perhaps lesser actions that were very numerous, but all after the crusade, at which he could not have been, without making him far too old; even decrepid and above 106, which is not to be easily credited. That day the Christians won a bloody victory, covering themselves with glory. But, in

¹ Arab. Chron., 39.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 60.

³ Arab. Chron., 116, Note 1.

the meantime, Gerard was dying at Jerusalem—a most placid end. It is not quite certain whether he died in the last of 1120, or in the first of 1121; but that only makes the difference of a few days.¹ His ails, that had been always increasing, now left him a blessed respite of several weeks before he expired. Of Baldwin's success, he seems never to have had a doubt. And, if several of his knights had fallen in the conflicts, and that some others might do so at present, yet he rejoiced they had gone direct to Paradise. The review was consolatory in the highest degree; why should he not make it? It was his duty to make it. Before him his faithful secretary held a long roll containing the list of the knights from almost every country under heaven, where there were Christians, and deeds of gift, and regular establishments of the order made during the life of the founder, in many remarkable places of Europe and Asia. Paoli gives a list of forty, with regard to which the legal proofs still remain; yet how few that remain, in comparison of what are lost!² Probably of as great antiquity are those of Gozlar (in the Hartz) and in Palestine, Laodicea, Tortosa, and several others,

¹ Vaissette: *Hist. de Languedoc*, ii. 362.—*Cod. Dipl. Geros.*, i. 330.—P. A. Paoli: 192.

² P. A. Paoli: whole three chapters xvii., xviii., xix.

but direct documentary proofs are wanting. Such extension supposes many knights.¹ A glorious answer to the Papal and Norman circulars. That roll has perished; but the Paölis, with the perspicacity of a Leibnitz, and the industry of a Muratori, have collected several ancient documents, of which this abridgment allows but culling a few, chiefly English, as well as can be made out of names that are strangely *traduced* into Italian, or Latin, or old French. A more accurate eye will discover others—to the glory of our most illustrious families—under their horrible disguises.

Sir William Peter, *Chancellor in 1126.*²

Sir Allan, *a Castellan in 1121.*

Sir Fulk, *Constable.*³

Sir N. Gardiner, soon *Prior of England.*⁴

Sir ——— Peters, *Treasurer.*

Sir ——— Gerard, *Cupbearer.*

Sir Gilbert Malemmanno.

Sir Peter Alemanno, *Prior of Constantinople.*

Sir ——— Gerard, *Master in Acre.*

Sir ——— Ponzio, *Guardian of the Sick.*

Sir William Williams, *Preceptor in Antioch.*

¹ P. A. Paoli: 406.

² Id.: 412.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. Num. x.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 42, Num. xli.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 315.—Appendix, xxx.

Sir Bernard D'Ansillan, *Prior in Toulouse*.

Sir Robert Richards, Junior, *Master in England*.

Sir N. I. Gardiner, but why *called* of Naples, yet not *Napoli* in Italy, but in Palestine the ancient *Sichem*,¹ converted by the Greeks into Neapolis, and by the Syrians into Naplouse? Perhaps he was lord of it; but that he was brother of the Prior of England demonstrates his country; long afterwards to be Grand Master.²

Sir Raymond du Puys, *Marshal*, and soon first of the Grand Masters.

The most material thing was to enter into the spirit of the founder. But that was not well reflected on (says Paoli) by the historians of the order; for the oldest statute found being under his successor, they held he founded the institution; but on the contrary, had there been change, it would have been said in these documents.³ Yet that there was a regular rule before 1113, is clear from the expression, that the head of the order must be chosen by the *knights professed*, which implies a rule, and approves it, which was written and lost, but orally lived in its members, and quite enough of documents survive to permit us to add, and in

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 440.—Michaud: Orient., v. 467.—B. Poujoulat: ii. 451.

² P. A. Paoli: 427. ³ P. A. Paoli: 196.

the minds of all Christendom. His successor, before he began to legislate, writes what decidedly supposes a rule; and we find knights in Gerard's time refusing to fight with a Christian, because they declare it would be contrary to their vow to take arms against any but Saracens alone; full proof they had made a vow, and therefore *professed* a rule.¹ All the companions of Gerard that we know of, were persons of the highest rank; no doubt but there were clerical members in the order from the very beginning, and that they formed a separate class, among whom were an Archbishop of Arles, 1117, and a priest of a very noble family in England as early as 1100. But as to the original creation, and the first twelve years, they have been spoken of before; so whatever the poor expiring founder might think on, let us endeavour to avoid repetitions.

About 1113 (at latest), the first Roger and his son had left a deed for permitting the free export of all things for the use of the Hospitallers and the Holy Land, and that the Hospitallers might go where they liked by sea or land, and that the ships to receive them should never have to pay pilot or freight; and also in Bari, and the other cities and towns of those parts, the Hospitallers

¹ P. A. Paoli: 200

shall have warehouses, under lock and key, to preserve their rents, and sell them when they please, for the use and necessities of their establishments in Palcstine or elsewhere; and if that deed itself perished, we have extant another which confirms it, by William, King of Sicily in 1179.¹ In 1115 the order had a house in Arles,² and likewise near Narbonne, as a document in the archives of Toulouse shows (or showed half a century ago), and if Vaisette³ thought it regarded the Templars, or the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospitallers were often called of the Holy Sepulchre, and sometimes of the Temple, in those remote times, which could lead to no mistake then; for in 1115 the order of Templars did not exist,⁴ and were not declared a regular incorporation till thirteen years later, and had their first creation in 1119.⁵ The priory at Constantinople dates 1119, that is, a year before Gerard's death; so that the prior that writes to Louis Seventh of France, appears to have seen Gerard, and lived the whole of Raymond's reign.⁶ The

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 227, Num. clxxxiv.

² Id.: i. 301, Num. xxi.

³ P. A. Paoli: 398.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 490.

⁵ Id.: 144.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 467.—W. of Tyre.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1118.

⁶ P. A. Paoli: 313, 314.

English priory was then one of the greatest in the order. Sir William Allan was prior after Gardiner.¹ Confusion on this point is natural in northern Europe, from knowing little, and caring nothing about the origin of either Hospitallers or Templars; but turning away with a sneering smile, that says it would be a complete loss of time for them to inform themselves of such antiquarian frivolities.² The Wurzburgese on the other hand, are full of disdain that little is said about Germany, although many Germans were in the first crusade.³ Of the servants-at-arms, since lay-brothers date no further back than the twelfth century, they may rather derive from servants-at-arms, than these from those; and of the aggregated and Hospitalleresses, we have already shown they made an integral part of the order from the first, as far as aggregation goes. Many of the first crusaders had brought their wives with them, as a Count of Poitiers; but immediately after it, a number of females came to Jerusalem, of the highest rank, as a Countess of Holland, with whom the Roman lady Agnes; as certain as several historical facts; not quite proved, yet on as firm ground as many.⁴

¹ P. A. Paoli : 315.—Appendix, xxx. ² P. A. Paoli : 383.

³ Id. : 382. ⁴ Id. : 352, 366, and *passim*.

But although that other body, the Donati, were not an integral part of the order, but strangers taken into its service; still they are a very ancient corps, and reaching to the founder's time with various privileges; linked to the knights, but not their equals in any way, nor members of their confraternity.¹ We have no precise deeds earlier than Gerard's successor; but these positively show that the Donati had pre-existed.² There is their formula of reception, as old as the thirteenth century,³ in the Vatican. They were accepted for a time gratis, to merit to be eventually fed and clad by the order, to wear a cross somewhat resembling that of the knights (with a quarter less, difference introduced posteriorly in 1160 at least), in hopes of being considered superior to hired servants or stipendiary soldiers.⁴ In the documents are to be found two Donati, one in London, in 1104, or thereabouts, and another in 1128, who gave himself (*dono*) and all he possessed to the order. A Count of Barcelona was a Donato some time before 1131, since he died in that year.⁵ There were *Donate* too for the sisterhood of Hospitalleresses.⁶ There were *Turco-*

¹ P. A. Paoli: 339. ² Id.: 340.

³ Id.: 341. ⁴ Id.: 342.

⁵ Id.: 343.

⁶ Id.: 344.—Appendix, Num. xxxi., xxxviii., xlii

pili also under Gerard.¹ Besides the mercenaries of that name, and the commander himself was a knight called *Turcopolier* (General-in-Chief of the cavalry) a title soon for ever united, not with the Prior of England, as Vertot says,² but with England, as always an Englishman. The prior mostly resided in his priory, and often old, and sometimes a clergyman; but the *turcopolier* was usually with fighting men in the East. Not the *capo*, but the *second* English dignity. There were no worn-out veterans yet. Then naturally the grand masters tried to have as many knights as possible on the field of battle; and one way of effecting that, was to confide commanderies of all civil and financial employments in Europe to the clerical class. But that was only at first; after a few years, we find such places occupied by the knights themselves, to whom, in the usual course, they belonged. There was a spirit of fraternization all through the first crusade, which survived it, and Gerard shared it eminently. The Emperor Barbarossa himself, the hero of forty pitched battles, the only human being that could have rivalled with Cœur de Leon in war, and with the King of France in the cabinet, held

¹ P. A. Paoli: 345.

² *Titres inseparables*. Vertot: liv. xi., p. 266.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. iii. anno 1166.

that, by the right of fraternization, every knight was his brother in arms and equal. Any officer that has ever been in an action will own that equality is a feeling strongly stamped in human nature. But it in no sort interfered with the subordination required; and it comforted Gerard's mind to see that many of the superiors, which his plan implied, were already established before he died. Almoner is as early as 1117, and in 1129 another. But not everything is to be found in the few deeds left. Rather let us be thankful for having these few.

Gentlemen poor, gentlemen sick would not be used towards the indigent, either then or now, but was indeed a nobler qualification than now; and certainly meant crusaders and persons of noble birth and station. The reverse were ridiculous, or worse; a very bad and ill-timed joke. "*Signori ammalati, Signori poveri, termine in quei tempi nobilissimo.*"¹ Of chaplains or rectors, the oldest known of is in England, the chaplain of the Brisset donation, which comprised a church or chapel.² For the places certainly created by Gerard, or so very ancient that they probably were so, let us have recourse to Paoli; and we find them to be

¹ P. A. Paoli: 324.—Appendix, Num. xxiii., cap. 3. & xxv., cap. 10.

² Id: 325.

Præpositus, Provost or Guardian (Grand Master), High Constable, Castellan, Turcopolier, Marshal or Master-at-Arms, Cupbearer, Preceptor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Hospitaller of the Halls or Receiver of Guests, dating all equally from Gerard's time; though it is necessary sometimes to recur to universal long-established tradition. We have the exact paper too, only taking the pains to draw the just inference. Master at first denoted a very dependent rank (for there were many masters) though, with the addition of grand, it came to be assigned to the head of the order. At Acre, Vienna, various places in Germany, France, England, everywhere in which the order had houses, there were masters, masters of infantry, of archers, of fortifications, naval masters, masters of horse, at arms; there were numbers of masters, as in these days captains.¹ The Templars—who were founded at Jerusalem, eighteen years after the Hospitaller—took divers of his titles. Their very founder was called master-at-arms.² Yet the Templars assumed only one of the three duties of the Hospitaller—not hospitality, for they had no seat; but they gave their chief the title held by the other duty—the army, master-at-arms. Sir Roger Pagano was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 275.

² Id.: 276.

Gerard's first master-at-arms.¹ If he was the brother of that Sir Hugh de Pagano who founded the Templars, it is a noble origin, and agrees with the prevailing opinion that they sprang from the Hospitallers; not from their servants, as Brompton pretends, but from their knights, their knights their own illustrious equals!²

In the first pitched battle, the knights of the order were led by the then marshal, or master-at-arms, who was afterwards to become the famous Grand Master Raymond du Puy. But that Raymond was not a precise companion of Gerard's in the first crusade (as Paoli elsewhere proves), is no impediment to his having been master-at-arms, and fought while Gerard was president or provost.³ It is very probable that the celebrity gained by Raymond as marshal, may truly have given rise to his election to be the head of the order.⁴ Bosio has Revel; but that De Moulin was in 1181, is certain. Yet the sole difference is about *the grand*, which does not merit many words. The Gardiner mentioned in England, is not the same man who became grand master after De Moulin. They may have been near relations, and probably were, or even brothers; but were two different persons,

¹ P. A. Paoli : 276.

² Id. : 280.

³ Appendix, Num. xxxvi.

⁴ P. A. Paoli : 283.

one a knight, and one a priest; one celebrated for valour in Palestine, and the other for zeal and piety at home; similar only in family name, and so confused, because contemporaries and countrymen.¹ The Prior of England in 1180 and 1189 could not be the same made grand master, in 1187, in Palestine. No little error in chronology will overthrow that; but it must be avowed that the good and learned Bosio was wrong; others of course.² Nor was it a time to have an old priest, but a brave knight to replace him slain in battle. The *Preceptor*, Sir N. I. Gardiner, became Grand Master after De Moulin.³ The old, little known Papal bull of 1120 (which is given in the Appendix), fortifies much that is or shall be said.⁴ It has been insufficiently, or not at all, examined by former historians. The constable presided over the stables, and what regarded the tables and hospitality; possibly too, used to carry the standard of the order on the field and great occasions.⁵ The standard was sometimes borne by the marshal. Tudebonde the chronicler saw Bohemond's constable carry his standard in 1101; and it is likely

¹ P. A. Paoli: 316. ² Id.: 317.

³ Id.: 318.

⁴ Id.: 308.—Appendix, Num. viii.

⁵ Id.: 288.

the order continued the same fashion for a time, though constable ceased soon to be in vogue, and his functions were given to another. Matthew Paris says the order's standard-bearer had its proper name of Balnicafer, but perhaps that was afterwards.¹ The keeper or castellan, is implied in castles, and though several medals and seals belonging to many such functionaries found of late are all of Rhodes, still as Godfrey gave a castle, it follows that he also gave it a keeper. Essilia was the castle's name in 1100;² one month after the first foundation of the order, Essilia of St. Abraham, is called simply St. Abraham in Godfrey's donation, from its being close to it, perhaps an appendage of it; and many other castles in Palestine were given to the Hospitallers before 1100; and in each was a keeper, and over all there was a lord keeper. The names of two of these earliest keepers are come down to us in two documents.³ Of the *turcopolier* we have spoken already at full length. There is a fixed tradition in the order, even amongst such as have not much studied its annals, that *turcopolier* is contemporary with the founding of the order; but indeed, troops of that name were used by the Turks, and even

¹ P. A. Paoli: 289. ² Id.: 291.

³ Id.: 293.

Christian Greeks, long before the first crusade, and fought at Nice, and other places of Asia Minor. If the *turcopili* originated with the Turcomans, these were generally light cavalry, not much dissimilar from the Cossacks, though more richly accoutred, since some of them had lances with heads of gold. Forty thousand Tartars are said to have been so equipped.¹ The marshal was a military dignity, and chiefly directed the infantry.

The pincerna, or cup-bearer, and the chancellor, and the treasurer, date equally from Gerard's days.² The hospitaller of the halls, or receiver of guests, was almost always then a charge confined to one of the clergy. The preceptor was the fourth charge in the order, and was over all respecting the finances. A chronicler tells us the name was particular to the Hospitallers; for others called him procurator, or economist. But the Templars and Teutronics followed the Hospitallers in this, as in many things; and called their procurator, preceptor.³ So in speaking of them as being (to a certain extent) all three one whole in those ancient times, is only to do what they did themselves. We hear of the preceptor's being then on

¹ Chron. Corn. Zanfflet, 3.—Bib. Crois. i. 336.

² P. A. Paoli: 302. ³ P. A. Paoli: 295.

occasions an assistant to the second dignity in the order, the master-at-arms, or marshal, as early as 1155, and cited as of long standing.¹ In Dugdale, and an old chronicle in the Cottonian (now London Museum), is "the master or preceptor." And Clement IV. appears to have considered the preceptors vice-masters, both with Hospitallers and Templars.² And, when we recollect that the Pope had written to all Christendom to send them money at Jerusalem, we must conclude that the preceptor had enough to do to receive and account for such sums that were to suffice for armies, and such hospitality and charity.³ Sir Hugo de Revel, who became grand master, passed to that from this place. Also De Moulin and Gardiner had been preceptors, before elected grand masters.⁴ The marshal and *turcopolier*, though often united, existed separate under Gerard.⁵ When we add to all stated the two Papal bulls,⁶ we cannot but allow that few founders of any human society were ever so fortunate as this one, who lived to see his order rich, powerful, and glorious in so many places of Europe and Asia. Quite enough has been substantiated to vindicate his right to a station far

¹ P. A. Paoli: 296.

² Id.: 297.

³ Id.: 297.

⁴ Id.: 300.

⁵ Id.: 301.

⁶ Appendix, Num. v., viii.

above any rival in his own fraternity; not merely a brave, holy, and high-minded nobleman, but fully entitled to rank as a princely founder and sublime legislator. And after a multitude of proofs, for which there is not room here, has not Paoli a right to say? "Mine is not merely an historical truth, but an historical demonstration."¹ And if Gerard in his corps was unique in title, he was so also, I will not say in birth (many were of as high birth in that glorious order), but worth; nor is it to affirm little, since numbers illustrious for eminent worth were there among the heroic Hospitallers. Of course there was much subsequent legislation;² but indeed they were only comments on a rule already formed, and most certainly reduced to writing; nor are we for a moment to suppose that the Popes would have approved of what they had not deliberately read and submitted to their council. Some soreness had existed from the first elevation of a Latin Patriarch,³ who, having a spiritual power co-existing with that temporal one of the king's, had superiority over Antioch, that like Edessa, Tripoli, Acre, &c., was but a fief of the kingdom.

But the Antiochese archbishopric aspired to be

¹ P. A. Paoli : 457. ² Id. 215.

³ Appendix, Num. vi.

independent (or rather dominant), and sent a deputation to the Pope, who refused to alter what had been regulated by his predecessors. And the disappointment disposed an ambitious hierarchy to discharge their acrimony (but very unjustly), not on the Papacy, of which they were afraid, but on those it protected—the Hospitallers, who had nothing to do with the matter. Still, in reference to this accusation, the Legate Berengario was sent in 1115 to Jerusalem, and deposed its Patriarch.¹ Beside the rule that disappeared at Acre, or in some preceding mischance, the few we have, show that at least four other apostolical letters to Gerard have been lost.² No wonder at all; rather the wonder is that these few incontestible documents have come down to us; and if that of Lucius is in the Vatican, it is, that to have sent it then to Palestine would have been highly imprudent, seeing what a confusion that country was that time in; Jerusalem to fall in less than a year, and Acre already tottering at Saladin's approach, who was then climbing towards his ascendant.³ But when these and all the ancient records of even Gerard's successor were thought to be lost utterly, and of his successor too, then a Pope of a later epoch (Boniface VIII.) was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 310.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 549.

² Id.: 208. ³ P. A. Paoli: 212.

engaged to receive some scraps of bye-laws instead, on pretence of their forming the substance of the founder's rule, and putting them together and ascribing all the merit to another than Gerard, whom they did not mention at all. Some ignorant, and perhaps not ill-intentioned persons, procured an analogous bull; which, however, the Pontiff gave rather doubtfully, so that Paoli, on inspection of the original, suspects it, from the context, to be in part falsified by a paragraph anciently foisted in, not agreeing with what precedes, though with ink of a similar colour and identity of writing, and probably in the drawing up of the document formally for his Holiness to sign;¹ by which means the imposture was got up, and superseded the truth during several ages; and now these documentary proofs overthrow the entire production; but all is of little importance at present. The very dress of the knights is not mentioned in those scraps, as having been determined long before. Nor were the females separated as nuns (which became the case afterwards), but joined the knights at table and in the church, and by the couch of sickness, and attended on strangers of their own sex.²

That Gerard died at the age of forty-four is no ways

¹ P. A. Paoli: 213 and 214.

² P. A. Paoli: 216.

surprising; but that the distinguished personage¹ lived so long, that he expired peaceably, that his body was held in great reverence, that it was transported to Rhodes,² and thence into France, may be easily assented to; and if it was the ancient custom of the order, when possible, to elect the new grand master in presence of the corpse of the dead one, it was very likely that the marshal, who had recently gained a celebrated victory, was immediately elected to the vacant dignity. Sir Raymond du Puys, of a most noble French family—sometimes called Florentine, from its having come originally from Tuscany, or rather Lucca,³ and himself an illustrious knight—was then made head of the order.

1121 His own proclamation⁴ and a Papal rescript, prove that was in 1121;⁵ and, by the context, it was early in the January of that year.⁶ The proclamation itself presupposes a rule; how else should there be chapter—knights professed—duties to which they had sworn? Sworn duties imply a rule. Nor would oral remission do, where there was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 467.

² Id.: 476.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 330.

³ Cod. Dipl. Gros., i. 332, 335.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1119.

⁴ "I Raymond, on the blessed Lord Gerard's death!" Appendix, Num. x.

⁵ Appendix, Num. ix.

⁶ P. A. Paoli: 477, and *passim*.

a written document to be given: "Raymond ne devoit sa place qu' a l'eclat de ses vertus."¹ Then it was to his *eclat* he owed his election, and he merited it; albeit not probably quite in the sense intended. Though the Normans themselves, and the first crusade, had shown that eminent bravery, and all military talents, and a fervent spirit of religion (or what some call superstition), which are perfectly compatible, to an attentive reader that proclamation proves he considered his election alone made him a sovereign. How could that be, but that he had become the chief of a body already organised and made sovereign by universal consent? His *per gratiam Dei* has ever been a phrase consecrated to royalty.

But the East is a curious country. Events the most opposite occur almost in the same breath; triumphs and defeats in wondrous rapidity. So, in spite of the favourable omens and the late victory, we read of Turcomans ravaging Syria the very same year; but on their misconduct, the sultan having cut off their beards, this mark of ignominy so humbled and vexed them, that they all deserted to beyond the Euphrates.² Nevertheless, King Baldwin is winning battles near Aleppo in the autumn

¹ Vertot: Hist., i. 72.

² Arab. Chron. 43.

of 1121, and sent word that he was sure to take the town he was besieging; for that he had reduced it to the state "of a horse that had lost the use of his forefeet, and whom¹ his master pampers up with barley, in the hopes of selling him to advantage; the barley all eaten, the horse dies, and the sultan has neither barley nor horse." But Baldwin failed, and the Mussulman autocrat smiled with scorn. Yet his was a short-lived exultation; for, eating
 1122 mutton, and melon and other fruit, his belly swelled and gave him an oppression of the chest that killed him.² But his nephew Balac, near Edessa, surprised Joscelin (to whom, as a Christian, the Mahometan deals his usual *God curse him*), and wanted him to surrender his country; but the Frank, prisoner as he was, had the courage to reply: "We and our castles are like the camel and his pack-saddle; when the camel dies—but no sooner—his pack-saddle passes to another."³ So Balac, spreading terror over both banks, went along the river like the roaring lion of Scripture, seeking whom he may devour; while he carried Joscelin with him to his hold in the north of Mesopotamia.⁴ Whereat Baldwin II. sallied forth; yet, instead of setting Joscelin free, was taken himself, and

¹ Arab. Chron., 45.² Id.: 46.³ Id.: 46.⁴ Michaud: Hist. Crois., ii. 63.

consigned to share his client's captivity. But on Balac's marching against Antioch, the Karthert captives broke their bonds, and with the assistance of some Armenian deserters, murdered the whole garrison and might have escaped. "Now that we are at liberty," said the wiser count, "let us go, carrying away as much booty as we can." "But," replied the king, "I'll remain here to keep possession; and do you depart to call my troops;" and he forced Joscelin to take an oath neither to change clothes, eat flesh-meat, or drink wine, except at mass, before he came back to deliver him.¹ 1123

But Balac, hurrying east, retook the hold, and slew all the Franks, excepting Baldwin, whom he shut up in another stronger castle. When Joscelin got to Jerusalem, it was too late. Still, after various adventures, he with ten thousand men, attacked Balac in Mesopotamia, who was beaten and obliged to fly. It is said that Balac led the charge fifty several times in that battle, without being once wounded, nor had any armour, or any other weapon than sword and lance. To-day he thanked Allah fervently for his victory; on the next, had all the Christian prisoners massacred; and, on the third, had his collar bone broken by

¹ Arab. Chron., 47. "Men communicated in both species," says the Christian commentator on that passage.

an arrow, and but a moment to tear away the barb and spit on it and say, "There's a shot that kills all Mahometans." That he was slain in the battle would be then a Christian fable; still some affirm his death proceeded from Joscelin's hand, though the arrow came from the ramparts.¹ Baldwin remained a long time prisoner; five years, say some. The Saracens took this opportunity of invading Palestine. That Gardiner, who afterwards became grand master, and then was Count of Sidon,² and constable, certainly of the order, and probably of Jerusalem itself (second charge in that kingdom), and by rights regent during the king's captivity, led the Christian army, and by rights, too, the Hospitallers, their grand master being before Aleppo. Gardiner was brother or nephew to that other Gardiner who was in England as prior, and priest, and, indeed, bishop. From the name, they are often confounded, but were two separate persons.³ Far from old,⁴ he was very young, remarkably young for that charge, scarcely any more than twenty-two, at that time, Jan., 1125
1125, since he lived till 1191.⁵ Yet what was the Christian army?⁶ In numbers very in-

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 70.—Vertot: i. 89.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., 484.

³ P. A. Paoli: as already.

⁴ Vertot: i. 85.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 339.

⁶ Michaud: Hist., ii. 70.

ferior, not seven thousand. The chief dependence was on two hundred Hospitallers. They, and a miracle, put to rout the Egyptian myriads. Those sombre heights had many terrific stories to tell, and glorious; let this be of the number.

Poor Gardiner, his own name is completely altered by a writer of authority, but in truth it was not D'Agrain,¹ but Grener or Grenier, as foreigners spell it.² His wife had died, but left him two sons, who grew up, and we have still the deed in which one of them confirms his father's, and that which is witnessed by his other son.³ But the ingratitude of forgetting even his name is of a piece with what mankind has always been, and perhaps will always be. Men were first ungrateful to their good God, and others have been so to them. They who were such to their Maker, may be also to each other. The Mahometans were freely plundered, having been themselves plunderers and murderers, as they are to be. Envy of the Pisans and Genoese more than anything else, appears to have decided the Venetians. The Doge landed at Acre, and went in triumph to Jerusalem. The regent

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 65. ² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 453.

³ Id.: Id.: Num. xiii. in 1183.—Num. xxiv. in 1147. These sons write of him as dead, and he was so to them from the moment he entered the order exposed to such imminent dangers.

in Baldwin's name proposed attacking Ascalon or Tyre. But the Venetians first bargained for a church, street, and oven, in any town they assisted in taking. So a third of Tyre was promised, and it capitulated, after five months' siege, in the spring of 1125, a rich commercial place still, and defended by a range of mountains from the north-east winds, in a beautiful country, though no longer the fine Tyre of the Bible. During the siege came news of Balac's death,¹ and every one foresaw Baldwin would soon be free. However, his ransom was eighty thousand pieces of gold. Timur-tach, who liberated him, admitted him to his table, and eating and drinking together, made him a present of a royal tunic, and a cap, and buskins of gold, and the same horse on which he had been made prisoner, and when he rode away, leaving as hostages his own daughter, and Joscelin's son, and others to the number of twelve, and the first of the four portions of the money, off he went, and at once forgot his promises—"God curse him!"²

The Christian besiegers of Aleppo did everything they could to irritate the Moslem on the walls, as, taking a Koran from one of the many little mosques in the suburbs, and tearing out some of the sacred leaves, and fastening them under the

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 72. ² Arab. Chron., 50.

tail of a horse, where the animal covering them from time to time with its ordure, then the infidel began to clap his hands, and burst into loud fits of laughter in derision of Islam.¹ Also at Moussul there were many Assassins, or Battenians; for the Moslem, and famous Turcoman captain, Borsaki, on his way to mosque on a Friday, in the middle of a great crowd, was assailed by eight Battenians, disguised as dervishes, and, in spite of his coat of mail, and his guards, was pierced with many daggers, and expired. The eight Battenians were all killed, except one, who escaped; whose mother, when she heard that Borsaki was slain, and that his murderers had perished, believed that her son was of the number, and quite joyful, she decorated herself, and tinged her brows and eyelashes with collyrium, and showed her exultation publicly. All of a sudden arrived her son himself, all alive, and in perfect health, on which her rapture changed to sadness, and she tore her hair and defiled her face. Miserable woman; she adored her son, but such fanaticism is in that frightful sect, which she participated, that she had rejoiced her child had got to the eternal delight of Paradise, and then she fell into despair, as natural. The Spartan mother's was a weaker sentiment. This more to

¹ Arab. Chron., 52.

be reprobated.¹ Battenians, Ismalians, or Assassins (for they are all one, the Old Man's people—though he was called Old Man, not from age, but dignity—shieekh, or elder, having a double signification, lord, or *vecchio*). These villains were sometimes in league with the Christians, who ought to be ashamed of it. So the Moslem Governor of Damascus had all the Battenians that were in that town (six thousand it is said) put to death, with the aid of the citizens, who hated them; but the officer who commanded in Paneas, being a secret Battenian, delivered up that fortress to the Christians, among whom he went to live.² Nothing but troubles and anarchy through all Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia; Moslems and Christians sometimes allied, and suddenly at war. Zengui, perhaps rather just than sanguinary, was about ten at the first crusade, when his father died. Except 1128 Aleppo, Damascus, Emessa, and Humah, there was now scarce a spot where a Mahometan could exist at peace. "But God resolved to fulminate the demons of the cross, and his searching eye saw no one so proper for this Divine purpose as the jewel of religion, the blessed martyr Zengui, of the unshaken heart and firm will."³ So he was

¹ Arab. Chron., 55.

² Id.: 56.

³ Id.: 60.

elected Prince of Moussul and Aleppo, and the sultan ratified the election.

“ At that time the Franks (whom God curse) held Edessa, and much of Mesopotamia. If God had not given them Zengui, it was all over with Syria and the Moslems; but at his appearance, the true believers lightened up their looks, and the prophet's words were verified. ‘ My country shall never be without a friend of God, nor religion without a protector.’ The Lord did not abandon the Mahometans, but placed at their head one whose soul is to be sanctified.”¹ Yet was no way scrupulous, since he put the Prince of Damascus, a brother Mussulman, whom he got hold of by no very honourable stratagem, on a bed of straw, and scourged severely by a common executioner, to extract a ransom, and make him give up a fortress. Moslems ravaged all about Laodicea, leading away to slavery nine thousand men, women, and children, and one hundred thousand head of cattle, all which dislocated the arms of the Franks. Such were the amusements of that time.

Even long before this, Sir Raymond had seen his body, with a rapid success, rivalling that under its founder, go on growing till not an illustrious

¹ Arab. Chron., 64.

family in Europe but furnished a knight to one or other of the military orders in Palestine, as early as 1128; and even sovereign princes soon learned to lay down their royal pomp, to wear either the scarlet coat-of-arms of the Hospitallers, or the white mantle of the Templars.¹ The Hospitallers wore black at home, but abroad a scarlet surcoat, field for the white cross and black ribbon, their colours in memory of Gerard, from that day to this.

The moment Baldwin was free, instead of returning to the delighted Jerusalem, he assembled an army towards Antioch, and marched against Aleppo.² But being repulsed, though joined by the head of the Arabs, and even some emirs, he visited the capital, and after gathering a company of Hospitallers and other distinguished knights, he made an inroad on the Damascan countries, and won such large booty, that it produced a sum that sufficed to ransom the people he had left in captivity in Mesopotamia,³ his own daughter included. It is probably the only instance of a king's having hired out his daughter into slavery. Yet perhaps the times, and not he, were to blame.

The Turkish cavalry, in 1128, was better in

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 82. ² *Id.*: *Id.*, ii. 71.

³ *Id.*: *Id.*, 72.

evolutions than the Frank; but both Egyptians and Turks left the sea to the European Franks.¹ The Turks of that period were disciplined. Nor were Curds, Arabs, Turcomans, and innumerable hordes, wanting; but on the day of battle they all joined against the Christians for love of Islam or of plunder.² Swimming over the Tigris or Euphrates, they united to ravage Syria. Ferocious savages they were; enough that they were Mussulmans! And indeed, from one or other of those uncultured tribes, sprang many of the most distinguished Mahometans—even Saladin himself.³ As for the Bedouins, they were sometimes in favour of the Christians; and at worst they were easily kept in order by the castles of Montreale, built by Baldwin I. between the Dead Sea and Egypt, and by the fortress of Kerak, in Arabia Petrea. The old chronicles are full of the wonderful cruelty of the nomades, they call Parthians; but these barbarians were Turcomans swarming from the eastern shores of the Caspian, beyond the Persian frontiers. Yet on the whole, the Christians had to this been on the increase. Even after the fall of Edessa itself, Joscelin had still various flourishing towns through Mesopotamia, and along both sides of the

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 73.

² Id.: Id., ii. 74.

³ Id.: Id., 75.

Euphrates, and the declivities of Mount Taurus. Antioch, Tripoli, and the whole line of sea coast to Egypt, were Christian. After Jerusalem, 1130

Antioch was by far the greatest city in those parts. Yet it is somewhat unfair to praise the Hospitallers in 1130, without adding that, from the first crusade, without the interval of one single moment, the Latin kingdom owes its existence to them. Normans liberated the Holy Sepulchre, and founded its permanent defence up to the woful, when all was lost.¹ The Hospitallers took proper pride in the Templars and Teutronics as their children—fruit of their own loins; and a historian of the Hospitallers has a right to comprise them all in that one word. Consolidated, why should a rash hand try to separate them? At most, from their legal foundation 1128,² the Templars may be treated as a separate body; and the Teutronics from theirs, when we come to it. Who were the Kings of Jerusalem's great and valiant lords? The Moslems tell you Hospitallers!³ The rapidity of the Christians notwithstanding the weight of their armour,⁴ is very remarkable; no comprehending it—at one time here, and at the next there, a great distance off.

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 81. ² Id.: Id., ii. 490.

³ Arab. Chron., 128, Note, Ibn Abontai.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 83.

Now in Europe or Asia Minor, now on the Orontes or Euphrates, almost at the same instant in a battle beyond the Red Sea, defending Jerusalem, or making an inroad on Damascus or Aleppo. Their scorn of ambushes or stratagems was likewise great; and prudence in their leaders was too often called weakness or timidity, and many of their princes paid with their lives or liberty the vain glory of dangers that were without any utility to the Christian cause. Yet these uncalculating exploits produced results that resembled prodigies, the only policy that could have maintained the European sovereignty so long.¹ Another advantage derived from thoughtlessness (though it had an air of the political) was, that when any Mahometan population had to leave a town, they were replaced by Franks, who, marrying women from Syria or Apulia, produced a race called Pulani,² like Mulattoes, despised by some, yet faithful subjects to the Latin domination.

Baldwin, now old and with only two children, and both of them daughters, married the eldest to a noble warrior and pilgrim, Foulques of Anjou, who thus became at once his sovereign's presumptive heir; and the other daughter to young

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 84.

² Id.: Id., ii. 88.

Bohemond, Prince of Antioch. Foulques, if not a Norman, was nearly allied to the Normans of the royal family of England, and therefore of the Norman party. On return from an unfortunate attempt against Damascus, in the arms of his Melisenda and her husband, and blessing their infant son, in 1131 died the last of Godfrey's companions—and also as such loved and revered—the illustrious warrior Baldwin II., a virtuous and sagacious king.

About this same time, Sir Raymond received the two bulls of Innocent II., dated 1130, both in the first year of his pontificate. "How pleasing to God, and how venerable to man, is at least one spot on earth! How commodious, how useful a refuge is that which the Hospitallers' house of hospitality in Jerusalem affords to all poor pilgrims who face the various dangers by land and sea with the pious and devout wish to visit that sacred city, and our Lord's Sepulchre, as is well known to the whole universe. There indeed are the indigent assisted, and every sort of humane attention is shown to the weak, fatigued by their numerous labours and dangers! They are there refreshed, and resume their strength; so that they are enabled to see the sacred places which have been sanctified by our Saviour's corporal presence. Nor do the brethren

of that house hesitate to expose their lives for their brothers in Jesus Christ; but with infantry and cavalry, kept for that special purpose, and paid by their own money, defend the faithful from Paynims fearlessly, both in going and returning. It is these Hospitallers that are the instruments by which the Omnipotent preserves His Church in the East from the ordures of the infidels." Thus says the Pope on the tenth of March, and thus on the twelfth:¹ "The more these excellent men, the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, are assailed by malicious tongues for their religion and probity, the more are we desirous of protecting them, and showing that the Roman Church is intimately persuaded of the purity of their devotion. Therefore it is that we lay our injunctions on all parish priests, and other clergy over the whole globe, to allow no one to presume to speak against the Hospitallers, but to recur to every means in their defence, even excommunication." And so this continues, and many other Papal decrees, in the same tenor.

Fulk became King of Jerusalem. His first exercise of authority was an unpleasant one; for Alice, his wife's sister, having been left widow, conducted herself so scandalously, that it was necessary

¹ Appendix, Num. xii., xiii.

to import a husband for her only child, the little Constance, as soon as possible; which Fulk did, in the person of the Count of Poitiers, whom he got sent from France for that purpose, or rather from England, for he was then at the Court of Henry I.¹ The delicate commission was executed by a celebrated Hospitaller, Sir Robert Joubert, whom we shall find, a few years later, grand master of the order.² While that was being done, and Melisend was regent during her lord's absence in Antioch, there was a grievous storm from Egypt, *via* Ascalon, to repress which, it was found expedient to build a fortress in that direction, and give it in care of the Hospitallers. They and the Templars made Bersabee a secure refuge for Christians, as well as a check on the Bedouin Arabs, and attacks from Egyptian or other Saracens. All the states of Christendom then saw their defence in that of the Holy Land; and none able to defend it but those knights.³ Indeed, the renowned warrior Alphonso the Great of Arragon, Emperor of all the Spains, as runs his title, who had conquered in twenty-nine battles against the Moors, being without children, made a will of his

¹ Mathew Paris: 1133.—Rob. del Monte, anno 1130.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 394.

² Vertot: i. 105.

³ Id.: 109.—Bosio, par 1, lib. i. anno 1131.

entire dominions to those two orders in 1131. And if his last testament never came to effect, that was owing not so much to the Spaniards, whose chief grandees had signed it, as to the knights themselves, who preferred some succour towards the wars in Palestine to the affairs of royalty, in which soldiers saw but an encumbrance. In their eyes, it was a full compensation to be allowed to defend certain castles and extensive fortresses, and the honour that no peace could ever be made with the Moor without their consent.¹

It was on his return from Spain that Raymond assumed the title of grand master; and if that of *præpositus* be higher, and had been given him in the Papal bulls of Innocent II., perhaps accidentally, yet this other was destined to be forevermore the distinctive of the heads of his order.² Fulk had reason to feel happy that the Moslems of Moussul divided from those of Damascus, who joined the Christians in taking Paneas; and satisfied in depriving the Mesopotamians of a city, left it to a Christian garrison, which defended Jerusalem on the Lebanon side.³

¹ Vertot: i. 116.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. i., anno 1132.

² Id.: 117.—Id. Id.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 99.—Or Cesarea di Filippo, or Bellina according to some. Seb. Paoli: Notizie, ii. 434.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1141.

Vertot, like Bosio, complains that no
1141 historians relate when the change from religious to military began. Of course they do not, for no such change ever took place. From the foundation the whole was natural, and offended none of the tastes of the age, but was in its very spirit, neither more nor less than the crusade: and all Europe had given full proof of the universal way of thinking, by the voluntary progress of all the Europeans then alive. In no way could the association of nobility and servants-at-arms agree afterwards. But then it did, and they glided in together without the least difficulty; and once the rule was established, no one ever saw anything in that honourable familiarity but justice and truth; and so it has come down to our own time without a single objection. In the presence of a loftier, all lower ideas vanished. There would have been soon a difficulty, but then there was none. Gerard knew how to take the ball at the hop. Like most other great discoveries, it seemed quite easy when effected, and in the usual course, nothing to startle. I avow that after I had learned to doubt the current opinion, I yet thought that Raymond must have written something of a body of laws, or left some fine charter, to acquire the fame of a legislator, though not the order's founder, or its

prime Lycurgus. But when I saw what a few meagre trivialities they are which obtained him that estimation, I was wholly astonished. Not a single principle of any importance, or generality do they contain. The very first words prove that Raymond had no idea of forming a rule; but only of commenting on some of the minor obligations contained in a rule which had been sworn to by him and the other members of the order, and therefore well known to them all. Perhaps some of the brotherhood had been a little remiss in the particulars he notices. Like most subsequent grand masters and chapters, he found something to condemn or amend, not as to the established rule, but as to the mode of executing some of its articles. But as he was the first grand master, posterity thought they could go no higher. The founder was gone, and when his rule was lost, it was not hard to pass off this as a substitute; so as not read, but received with blind or dishonest credulity; not even the shadow of a rule, but only a parcel of bye-laws, chiefly regarding the sick, or punishment for some diminutive misconduct in trifles scarce deserving notice: no few of them utterly childish and ridiculous, clownish, and but practical jests. The impression it cannot but leave in any one that has the patience to examine the

rubbish, is highly to Raymond's disadvantage. Yet was he a very eminent personage. Undoubtedly this trash given in his name, was never meant by him to be the apology for a rule. Impossible to suppose it ever came from him at all, but was evidently only a collection of many little stray notes, thrown together by chance, and referring to some observations he may have made on miserable negligences in the daily service. No doubt the wording was by some of his lowest subalterns, who may have thought they were writing something very becoming; and that it was his, is not to be dreamed of, nor merits a serious objection. Forsooth it is a nasty custom to walk about naked. Kindness is due to the sick. It is wrong to speak loud and disrespectfully in the church. All indecency is to be eschewed, particularly in the company of women. Nor should females be allowed either to wash heads of knights, or feet. It is forbidden to wear foreign furs;¹ which reminds us of the sumptuary laws of the Italian Republics, in none of which, however, are found so many littlenesses as in this. So to have this exhibited as the rule of an order that never occupied itself but with things of the greatest moment, and had something of the *qu'il mourut* in all its transactions, is not unlike an insult to com-

¹ Appendix, xiv.

mon sense. One of the greatest captains of his age, "*par sa rare valeur, des plus grands capitaines de son siècle*,"¹ as Raymond is represented, we have no right to impute to him anything of puerility; and to this veteran's instructions, young Baldwin owes his beginning very early to distinguish himself as a warrior. For the princely boy's father had been killed by a fall from his horse, 1142 when coursing on the thirteenth November, 1142 (which agrees ill with what is elsewhere said of his having got blind, and probably meaning only a little short-sighted),² and left two sons, Baldwin of thirteen, and Almeric of seven. Their mother at first assumed the regency, but in less than two years the grand master and some other of the great lords had the elder boy crowned by the 1144 title of Baldwin III., who instantly led out a body of Hospitallers and Templars on an excursion against the Saracens in the land of Moab, and came back with the fame of bravery.³

The Christian cause had just entered its 1145 decline by the fall of Edessa;⁴ Joscelin

¹ Vertot: i. 170.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1159.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 362.—Appendix, Num. xxvi. It reconciles both passages to reckon from the coronation of Baldwin III. on Christmas day, 1144, and not from his father's death.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1142.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 99, 100.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1142.

⁴ Vertot: i. 118, 119, 120.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1143.

being dead, and his son totally incapable to be his substitute. Edessa was one of the great fiefs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and had been so ever since the time of Godfrey de Bouillon ; but now Zengui took it with hideous slaughter. No need of a continual repetition. The Christian army there at this time means Hospitallers. The juvenile monarch's next act was a war unjust in its motive, and unfortunate in its result. An emir, who commanded at Bosra, to the south-east of Damascus in the Haouran (which has now above two hundred uninhabited towns and villages, which testify to its numerous population once), proposed giving them up his post—an offer that the Christians greedily accepted, although the prince and emirs at Damascus, astonished at the rumour, entreated them not to commence hostilities, but remain faithful to their treaty of truce, whereas an unjust war could never prosper. In vain ; and when the Christian army reached Bosra, it had a fresh Damascan garrison, the treasonable officer's own wife having betrayed him. Frightful retreat ; heats, and poisoned waters, and famine ; and most of the gallant Hospitallers left their bones to whiten that desert, after the wild beasts had devoured their flesh ; all the inhabitants having fled into caverns, and carried off every scrap of food for man or horse. There

were thistles all over the plain, and the Turks set them on fire. Only for St. George on a white horse, and holding a red flag, all the Christians were lost.¹ Glorious young Baldwin might have saved himself at the beginning of these disasters, but refused to leave his army; like St. Louis in another inemorable defeat.² Yet not calamity, but repose was the true gangrene of the Franks. So Zengui thought, and he was right. It was Joscelin the Second's enervating dissoluteness that lost Edessa, and so it shall be soon with Antioch, the two strong outworks of Jerusalem however distant; and thence the same foul disease shall go on eating its way, till it ruins Palestine and the holy city itself. Therefore it was, that Zengui (according to the Mahometans, a blessed servant) used fraud to the utmost against Edessa, before he had recourse to force. So weakened, he overcame; and by the sword condemned the people of Edessa to eternal silence; and diminished into Orfa, it is now a poor place, of little strength. Well might the Imaums sing: "O Mahomet, Prophet of Heaven, in your name have we destroyed these idolatrous sinners, and torrents of blood have run for the triumph of your law!" Edessa, that had acquired much power under the Franks (observes

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 102.

² Id. : Id., ii. 102.

Ibn Alahir himself),¹ one of the stoutest fortified places in Asia, the queen of beauty, and limpid waters, the city over sixty towns, was no more. Its altars upset, its riches and songs gone, its unrivalled magnificence, as if an edifice carried from heaven to be built on earth.² Whatever of the atrocious massacres were subsequently perpetrated by Noureddin, his father Zengui had showed the example; so that, if the scimitar devoured its people as fire devours straw, yet on Zengui's head, the man of blood, be the whole! Some weeks later, the man of blood was himself murdered by

his own Mamelouckes, while asleep in his
1146 camp.³ The Emperor of Greece had a few years earlier come into Syria at the invitation of a cadi near Aleppo, who became Christian with four hundred of his village, and many of the natives having taken refuge in caves in the hills, the Greeks making large fires at the mouth smoked out some, and suffocated others of the unfortunates within. But it having been contrived to cause dissensions between the Greeks and Latins, the emperor had to retire.⁴

On the whole, Zengui deserved his death, and the earth was liberated from a monster. News of

¹ Arab. Chron., 66.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 177, 187. ³ Arab. Chron., 78.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 67.

the fall of Edessa, and that Islam began to advance her horns in Mesopotamia, roused Europe to the second crusade, under Lewis VII. and Conrad, which ended so unfortunately ; for most of the Germans died in Asia Minor, and if a remnant of French got to Antioch, Queen Eleanor learned the vices of it, so that Louis VII. was obliged to get divorced from her, as soon as he got back to Paris. Some pretended she saw the famous Saladin there, then a very young officer, and, if it depended on her, would have run away with him. Too young, perhaps, but it seems the queen was of a different taste. Certainly he was rather twenty or twenty-four, than ten ; since, within a year later, he was the second in command, under his father, at Damascus.¹

Conrad and king met to weep at Jerusalem, and made an attempt on Damascus, that ended ineffectually, and the European sovereigns returned home with slender retinue, and no armies, though the imperial had left Europe with ninety-thousand horse, and the royal with fifty thousand of the same arm ; for, as to the infantry of both, they were beyond counting.²

The effect of the second crusade in beautiful France, was mournful, "Our castles and villages deserted, widows and orphans are everywhere,

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 177, 187. ² Arab. Chron., 93.

whose husbands and fathers are alive.¹ Many are the historians of the first crusade, but of the second, only three; and these three all
1147 break off suddenly at Damascus. Their silence shows what people thought then of that crusade.²

Of such wonderful strength was Raymond de Poitiers, then, by marriage, Prince of Antioch, and by birth uncle to the Queen of France, that he could bend an iron stirrup, and, one day passing on horseback under a gateway, whence hung a chain, he took the chain in both hands, and with his legs pressed the horse so prodigiously, that he stopped the animal at full gallop, and kept it there stock still, without its being able to move an inch in any direction. But he died soon, and only left a boy of the name of Bohemond, and his widow, to have some one to hold the rudder of government during the minority, and lead the troops, married Renard de Chatillon, of whom, soon again, says the Moslem;³ but Christian chroniclers give her a less honourable motive.⁴

In Palestine, the immediate effect of the second crusade had been to show at once that there were

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 132. ² Id.: Id., 191.

³ Arab. Chron., 98.

⁴ W. of Tyre: 16.—Bib. Crois., i. 144.

dissensions among the Christians; for, at a council at Acre, of the King of Jerusalem, with his knights and barons, and the King of France and the emperor, in the presence of the Queen of Jerusalem and the Christian ladies, neither among these was there the Queen of France, nor amongst those the Prince of Antioch, or the Counts of Edessa and Tripoli—sad omen, and so, as all question of besieging Aleppo was over, by Raymond of Antioch's absence, and scarce a word about Joscelin or Edessa hazarded, although the main object for calling of the council, was to decide whether to attack Aleppo or Edessa, it was resolved to besiege Damascus.

Here, for the first time, the Moslem writers distinctly mention the Knights of the Temple, and almost ever after name them with the Hospitallers. Scarcely either without the other. Indeed 1148 the historian of the crusades himself, is not much earlier; for he hardly speaks of the Templars before telling that their grand master had advanced to meet Louis VII, in Asia Minor.¹

Damascus, one of the holy cities of Islam, and famous for its fanaticism as well as its gardens of seven leagues and forest of orange trees, and almost every kind of fruit, must give up the story about

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 169.

Mahomet, since it cannot be possibly true; he having been never near it. Yet its wines are praised by Ezekiel.

The Christian camp was fine, and contained the chief nobility of France; small remnant of the vast army Louis VII. had led. As to the emperor and few Germans,¹ these behaved with magnificent bravery. The emperor's charge was irresistible. The French as became them. Why did the Christians then not conquer? No one knows. The Syrian lords are said to have given bad advice from corrupt motives. But treason and perfidy are always in the mouth of the vanquished.² On the Jordan or in Europe, treason is the cant at every failure. And it is to be generally observed that the Latin chroniclers always went with public opinion.³ Fact is, the Christians retreated. Ayoub, father of Saladin, was the Moslem who directed the defence; and under him was the youth who was soon to be so distinguished a warrior,⁴ which is perhaps the most remarkable event of the siege.⁵ Dreadfully eloquent is the silence of annalists. So are the Moslems brief or mute while losing. The same spirit on both sides. No glory compensates

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 184.

² Id.: Id., 191.

³ Id.: Id., 190.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 97.

⁵ Michaud: Hist., ii. 187.

reverses. The Christian had neglected to colonise Asia Minor and so had no retreat; which rendered a fault irreparable. Immense too the immorality. In part it was indiscretion; from St. Bernard's too easily receiving the vilest culprits. Louis VII. was a pattern of piety, and many of his leaders.¹ Too little of human prudence, too much of leaving all to Providence. In the first crusade were devotion and heroism; in the second, more of the cloister than of enthusiasm. Priests and monks had too much handling of affairs. Louis was but a martyr and common soldier; the emperor a champion utterly imprudent and presumptuous, which caused the loss of his beautiful army. Neither monarchs had extensive views, or the energy requisite for great actions. Nor heroic passions, or anything of the chivalrous, nor famous captains were in the second crusade. Also the forces of Christendom were divided. Not all were directed on Asia; but some to the north of Europe, against the Slavi; some to Spain, against the Moors; and that division contained many English knights. Normans from Sicily, were in Africa; and with them were many Hospitallers; at the very time the Christians were before Damascus. By no means did this second crusade represent the whole of Christendom

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 193.

like the first; and St. Bernard was blamed for sending the Christians to die in the East as if Europe could not afford them graves. Yet had he spoken with the eloquence of a mighty orator and the unction of a father of the Church of God, and he rejoiced that the public anger should rise rather against him—poor buckler of the Lord—than be guilty of disrespect to the Lord himself. Nor should those who (borrowing the words of the pious historian of the crusades)¹ speak of the “*unfortunate eloquence of St. Bernard*,” do him the injustice of not avowing that it also impeded the usual enormity of that age, a massacre of the Jews.

Not long after that retreat from Damascus many Hospitallers fell in a great battle on the upper Orontes; when the Prince of Antioch was slain² and his head sent to Bagdad.³ Several of the best seaports of his principality were taken by Nouredin. Young Joscelin, after various attempts to retake Edessa, was made prisoner and led captive to Aleppo and died there in misery and despair (partly it is said, from the consequence of his own vices), chained in a dungeon. It was early in 1148. What remained alive of Latin inhabitants, not of

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 132.

² Arab. Chron., 98.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 202.

the town alone, but of the entire county of Edessa, decamped in a body, and sought refuge from Greeks and Turks, in Syria or Palestine, and being pursued in their flight, like the Israelites by Pharaoh, underwent a thousand dangers.

On the twenty-seventh of June, 1148, the Count of Tripoli was assassinated by an unknown hand; and all the towns of his dominions thrown into mourning.¹ In Jerusalem the queen mother was in open insurrection against her own son. Unfortunate Baldwin abandoned by France and Germany, and his whole kingdom falling to pieces, was obliged to besiege his own mother, who with her partizans had shut herself up in the tower of David!² Which tower of David was 1149 afterwards pulled down by the Moslems, who admired the immensity of its blocks and how firmly they were fastened to each other, Cyclopean architecture.³ To fill the chalice, two Turkish princes undertook to beleaguer the holy city, and would have succeeded, but for a few Templars and Hospitallers. Nor was Baldwin III., nor the Patriarch, nor the military orders unmoved, but sent the tidings to the Pope, who endeavoured to excite Christendom. But the recent crusade had caused discontent

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 203. ² Id.: Id., 203.

³ Rothelin: MS.—Bib. Crois., i. 379.

and even popular raillery, so that the sovereigns did not dare face new reproaches. The holy war had been ruinous to both nobility and clergy. Even St. Bernard refused his voice—holy warning! Yet on his death-bed Suger regretted he had not assisted the Eastern Christians. But how were they fallen! The Mahometan dynasties too, they had forgotten even the names of their once renowned monarchs. Their descendants were in the depths of Persia or some Indian province! Every ambitious emir set up for himself. Only each usurper offered an unmeaning homage to the Caliph of Bagdad, or Cairo, protesting he had sprung
1150 from the dust of his feet.¹ Nor did the Christians know that Aleppo and Damascus are the two keys of Syria; nor did they ever possess either.² But Noureddin built on his father's victories, and had much of the austere simplicity of the early caliphs, "uniting the noblest heroism with the profoundest humility," say the Arabian poets; "and when he prayed in the mosque, his subjects thought they beheld a sanctuary within a sanctuary."³ Encouraging the sciences, cultivating letters, he likewise applied himself to making justice flourish in his states. His

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 212. ² *Id.*: *Id.*, vide Note (1).

³ *Id.*: *Id.*, 213.

people admired his clemency and moderation. The Christians extolled his generosity and signal heroism. He followed the example of Zengui in becoming the idol of his soldiers by his liberality to them and his zeal to combat the enemies of Islam. Noureddin then revived the fierce despotism that was nearly extinct in the East, and announced the Koran's triumph, and the destruction of the Christian colonies. Baldwin III., by trying 1153 to stop him, only afforded him an opportunity of displaying his courage. Ascalon was more than repaid by Noureddin's conquest of Damascus, always Moslem it is true, but now swayed by the most dangerous of Moslems ; seduction and promises his weapons.

An interval of inaction that resembled peace, produced no event except the piratical expedition of Renaud de Chatillon (now Prince of Antioch) against tranquil Cyprus;¹ "an injustice that nearly equals what was perpetrated by Baldwin II. himself against the poor Arabs, who used to feed their flocks in the woods of Paneas by a treaty with him and his successors. His soldiers fell suddenly on the unarmed pastors, who fled in part; another part of them were killed, and their animals driven

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 219.

as booty to Jerusalem.¹ Some Flemings landing at Beyrout, formed an episode of disgrace.² Yet, in the midst of such scenes of calamity (what a lesson!), Baldwin married a niece of the emperor, as if all was at perfect peace³—nor was a stratagem wanting; the Hospitallers who had been dispensed from some formalities,⁴ were entrapped into refusing what they were right in refusing, and accused of shooting at the Holy Sepulchre in scorn; which forced them to apply beyond sea—petty annoyance desired by their foes, not without a slight hope, that in the frequent succession of the Papacy, some Pope might come who was of their own and less partial to the Hospitallers, things which could scarcely be, since the Hospitallers had done no wrong, as this pitiful accusation itself proved; since their worst enemies could find but these nothings. So how unsullied indeed the Hospitallers must be, and how nobly had they merited of the Holy See⁵ and all Christendom! Ecclesiastical spite! base ingratitude! Accuse them of not respecting the Holy Sepulchre; them, its best defenders!⁶ Had they not on all occasions risked their lives in its

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 220. ² Id.: Id., 221.

³ Id.: Id., ii. 221.

⁴ Vertot: i. 147.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1154.

⁵ Michaud: Hist., ii. 222.

⁶ Vertot: i. 151.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1155.

defence, with transcendent devotedness? The Patriarch was not ashamed to go with those stupid accusations; but the Pope had the honourable sagacity to turn him away, and do open justice to the injured and most meritorious Hospitallers.

Baldwin III. built another fortress against Egypt at Gaza, and gave it to the Templars.¹ But Noureddin and his Saracens set ravaging the lands around Antioch, while the sultan and Turcomans devastated the north of Mesopotamia. Baldwin the King, and two military orders, assisted the miserable Christians; but what way but this was left? So putting the entire multitude of fugitives, men, women, children, animals, baggage, and property of every sort, into the middle, he, the Hospitallers and Templars, kept up a continuous action with Nouredin during a long retreat, to keep him from the prey he was enraged to lose; but those noble warriors drove off the rabid tiger at last, and lodged the tremblers safe within Antioch. Still that absence of Baldwin nearly cost him his capital. The Egyptians going round by Damascus, attacked the Christians on that side, and advanced to the very walls of Jerusalem. In the evening, the citizens with consternation might see who hoped to take the city by escalade the next morning. Prowl-

¹ Vertot: i. 131.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. ² Id.: 133.—Id.

ing barbarians, they knew it had neither king nor garrison. Yet their very confidence made them lose the favourable moment. Had they stormed it then, they might have taken it; but waiting till morning was their ruin. The few Hospitallers and Templars that remained, took arms, and encouraged the inhabitants to resist; and, since their numbers were sufficient to man the walls, they rushed out, and finding the Moslem asleep, set fire to his tents, cut the ropes, and filled the whole camp with terror and death; so that he was struck with a panic, and ran away in remediless confusion, and flying towards Jericho, met the king and his cavalry on their way home, and these put five thousand to the sword. Of the rest, the Christians of Naplouse killed several, more still the peasantry, and a palsied residue, almost to a man, were drowned in the Jordan in a blind attempt to pass, swimming, and escape the Frank's steel.

1154 Baldwin, as reprisals for the intrusion, set off with Hospitallers and Templars and other Jerusalem forces, to assail Egypt by the coast; and after a long and sanguinary siege of seven months, took Ascalon on August 12th, 1154.² The Moslem garrison removing to El-Arish, was replaced by a

¹ Vertot : i. 135.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. ii.

² Id. : i. 148.—Id. : Id.

Christian one, chiefly Hospitallers. That same time, by a very inhuman and atrocious villany against his brother Mussulmen, Noureddin possessed himself of Damascus, to the vexation of the Judæa Latins, who were sorry to get so bad a neighbour.¹ And good right they had; for his first act was to gain a victory over them near Paneas; and among the spoils of their camp, was a magnificent tent for himself.² Damascus may balance Ascalon; so in this respect, the parties were quits.³ The following year was terrible for earthquakes throughout the whole of Syria, principally Antioch, Tripoli, Hamah. In the last town, all the boys of a school were swallowed up the first shock, while the school-master was out; and on his return, not a parent or relation came to inquire about one of them. Parents and children alike had shared the sad disaster.⁴

Noureddin had a present from the caliph, of seventy thousand pieces of gold, besides arms to the value of thirty thousand.⁵ It ended by the Christians having to ask pardon of the Caliph of Cairo, to whom, at the same time, the Emperor of Constantinople sent to beg him to order his fleet to go

¹ Arab. Chron., 106.

² Id., 109.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 219.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 107.

⁵ Id.: Id., 108.

against the King of Sicily, and that Egyptian fleet carried off the brother of the King of Cyprus, and transmitted him, as a present, to that same Greek Emperor. Fine treasons to each other amongst these Christian princes! Noureddin had tents enough, since, beside that fine one taken from the Franks, the Greek Emperor sent him a silk tent of considerable value, and several rich dresses and jewels.¹ The acquisition of Ascalon caused more joy through Christendom than any event since that of Jerusalem itself, and all knew what an active hand the Grand Master of the Hospitallers had in it; so that whether he was personally present or not—and perhaps he was not, seeing his advanced age of above eighty—matters little; for Baldwin was his docile pupil, and to Raymond's advice the fortunate resolution, whole conduct, and victorious conclusion of that gallant siege, were universally ascribed, and may very likely have been the cause of that splendid eulogium which Anastasius IV.² made of the order, repeating what his predecessors had said before, and even adding new marks of distinction, and rarer privileges: "Since you, my brethren, make so excellent a use of your wealth, in hospitably receiving pilgrims of every nation, and

¹ Arab Chron., 109.

² Vertot: i. 146.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1154.

defending all Christendom, of what lowest or most exalted rank soever; therefore it is that I excuse you from paying tithes, and forbid any bishop to publish interdict on any church in your property, though the whole country round be perhaps interdicted; that no bishop can interfere with you, but any priest be in safety within your territories, if you take him under your protection; and the same too of laymen—that they cannot be touched by any ecclesiastical tribunal, while protected by you—and that you owe spiritual obedience to no one but the Holy See and your own chapters. And if the ordinary bishop refuse to ordain any one a priest whom you propose, I, the Pope, authorize you to apply for that purpose to any other bishop you choose; and we precisely prohibit the receiving any member of your order into another, under pretence of leading a life of greater sanctity. And let the Hospitallers for ever elect their grand masters in perfect and entire liberty. We confirm all that has been done, and all that shall ever be done in their favour; nor are any allowed to take them by surprise, or attempt to force them to anything under any pretext whatever." No doubt this soothing language, from such a high personage as the Pope was then, was extremely grateful to

the dying Raymond; but it prepared much enmity to the Hospitallers.

Perhaps then, for the first time, the clergy began to
1158 look upon them with an evil eye. To lose the
tithes of such great landlords over the whole
world was a severe blow. But what wounded their
pride still more was, that while the kings and princes
of Jerusalem and Antioch, and other distinguished
grandees, were subject to priests, patriarchs, and bi-
shops, these were openly deprived of all authority over
the Hospitallers. Nor were the Templars without
sharing in the same odium. But that of church-
men is proverbially tenacious, and waits to ripen
well before it shows itself. A malicious sneer at
their riches, and with a malevolence quite charac-
teristic of irritated ecclesiastics, they stuck up some
arrows on their steeple, as if they had been shot at,
or were in fear of their lives from the Hospitallers
opposite; and observed with malignity that the
Hospitallers had erected that magnificent edifice to
attract admirers more than the Holy Sepulchre
directly facing it. These little symptoms of ill-will
sufficed at the beginning;¹ but soon after gave rise
to the fable of William of Tyre, who had a brother a
bishop, and became a bishop himself; fable that has

¹ Vertot: i. 152.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii.

come down to our own day. On all occasions malignity—the worst construction put upon all their actions—an iniquitous motive always supposed. That eulogy and distinction—much more, that they merited them—were the primitive cause of the injustice suffered by the various military orders often, from that age to the present—all of them wounded in their original head. Belied were the Hospitallers; but still more relentlessly were the unfortunate Templars to be soon assailed, and at last brought living to the stake. Yet it was not the income of the Hospitallers or Templars that merited investigation, but how that income was employed!¹ on which true question the Hospitallers (and probably Templars too) might have defied research. Most of those favours had been also granted by former Popes; and whatever the far by-gone generations might have been, or the future were to be, the Popes of that age had unrivalled power over almost all Christians; and for that very reason, considerable influence over the Paynim too. But it appears, the proverbial hatred of ecclesiastics had been growing with a silent growth; perhaps some unknown particulars might have kept it hidden. But not ungrateful were the Pontiffs, who would not

¹ Vertot: i. 156.—Bosio: par. I, lib. ii.

authorize clerical avarice or haughtiness; and Raymond was revered generally as a virtuous man, and fearing God. Nor did his knights fail to set an example in Spain; which soon created its own knight-hood in imitation.¹ If not his direct, the Spanish orders were his collateral descendants; and who can tell but they may yet rejoin their common parent, before falling into the ocean to which they all tend? Would it not be finer (and safer likewise) for them to unite and approach their ultimate delta in one broad stream? Perhaps, conjoint strength protracting their existence, they might erect another opulent Flanders in Lord knows what distant part of the world! Calatrava was formed in 1158; and from it the two others in some sort derived, that of Saint Jago in 1175, Alcantara in 1212,² all three with the Norman characteristics of singular bravery and religion. It is not of them alone, but of all human institutions it is true, that in a succeeding period they somewhat decline from the purity and fervour of the first. Nor does impartial history affirm that any of the six military orders were ever remarkable for degeneracy. Was it not rather for their riches they have been attacked?³

¹ Vertot: i. 157.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1159.

² Id.: 163.—Hallam: Middle Ages, i. 279.—Mariana, etc.

³ Vertot: i. 164.

Raymond is said to have been a Frenchman, and probably he was born in France, though that is not proved, but his parents were Italian, and the family Del Poggio, its original name, translated, or mistranslated into Du Puys, was from Lucca, and Lucchese antiquaries still boast of him as their countryman.¹ "In Avenione et Parisiis et aliis partibus Franciæ" (says the *Juramentum Fidelitatis* of 1331, still extant in the Lucca archives), "are living the Del Poggio, Lucanis civibus; who therefore, not to lose their privileges, claim to swear allegiance through their attorney." In every respect it could not but have been a flattering consolation to Raymond, in these his last days, that a Pope who, as a Tuscan, was his own countryman, wrote a bull, as highly laudatory of his order and himself as what Innocent II. had written; and if that bull of Eugenius be lost, yet the substance of it, and a copy of Raymond's bye-laws, which it contained, are come down through another of the Popes;² and that they passed for a rule was no fault of him, nor of the Pontiff either.

And here I have to prepare for leaving my best of guides, the mild, intelligent, and most conscien-

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 335.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1160.

² P. A. Paoli: 219.—Platina: iii. 23.—Appendix, xiv., first and fifth paragraphs.

tious P. A. Paoli, who had learned from his uncle to pluck the very heart of truth from the compilation he had left him, and to continue in his path. Muratori had the well-regulated library of Modena, but the undiscovered ocean of the Vatican, and the whole world, were to be the field of the diplomatist of the order of Malta, who for a considerable period completed his books, and died. After extracting the facts from each document, the nephew threw away the outside, and placing these essential facts so as to explain and elucidate each other, produced an impregnable whole, as far as he went, and then he too died. And now this unworthy pen is at the third operation, a little history from their mighty labours. But though the nephew's short volume be ended, the diplomatist's columns still continue, and I mean to try to keep close to them. P. Ant. Paoli only attended to those earliest of the order's annals, defaced by fables, which, with his aid, I have got through. After having been shown so far, the rest is easier, and with the diplomatic help, not difficult, and for that reason more adapted to me.

The Del Poggio had fiefs and lordships in Tuscany, as early as the Countess Matilda. The Del Poggio were marquises and dukes, and always sign themselves with such titles in several papers still existing, as far back as the tenth century. A

Poggio was Bishop of S. Miniato, in 1038.¹ But wherever the grand master's birth-place was, or however illustrious his ancestors, he added new laurels to all that belonged to him. Nor the denying his having been the founder of his order, or its earliest legislator, is at all to try to deprive him of his fair fame, which needs no other support than its own. Far indeed was it from him to wish to tarnish Gerard's merits, or foresee that malicious fables were to make him and his great predecessor rivals; or rather, to throw our founder completely into the shade; whereas Raymond's loftiest of desires was to be his follower in worth as station. That his Hospitallers were showing themselves deserving of the name, and his royal pupil gathering honour, soothed his respected death-bed, when, valiant and saintly octogenarian, he expired placidly at Jerusalem in the first month of 1160.² 1160

¹ Borghini Discorsi : ii. 421.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 335.—Vertot : i. 170, &c.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1160.

CHAPTER V.

IN Raymond's place immediately came in 1160 Sir Otteger Balben,¹ a French gentleman of Dauphinée, celebrated in the order for having engaged Palestine to decide in favour of the orthodox Pope in the great schism, as well as to declare itself an hereditary, and not elective monarchy; so Alexander the Third's legate was invited into Jerusalem, and Baldwin III. dying, from an ignorant Syrian doctor,² or poisoned as some aver,³ and 1162 leaving no children, his brother Almericus succeeded, and was anointed, and crowned on the eighteenth of February, in 1162,⁴ and the ceremony scarcely over, the Grand Master, Sir

¹ Vertot: ii. 171.—Bosio, ut supra.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 363.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 223.

³ Vertot: ii. 171.

⁴ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 365.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1162.

Otteger Balben¹ was followed by another as old, from the same province, Sir Arnaud de Comps, who likewise, after a few months, was replaced by Sir Gilbert d'Assaly, or De Saily,² whom some call an Englishman,³ and some from Tyre;⁴ yet both may be true, if he was from English parents, and born in Tyre, or brought thither in his childhood; however all that is quite uncertain; mere conjecture might suggest Sir Gilbert d'Estley.⁵ Certainly his making for England as his last refuge, like a hare to its form, seems to denote his fatherland.⁶ He was too unfortunate for any nation to be very desirous of owning him. Notwithstanding what has been written, it is most certain, from the incontrovertible evidence of three documents extant, that D'Assaly was Grand Master in January, 1163.⁷ Now De Comps could have but eight months at most, which however were enough to lay the seeds of a calamitous undertaking. For having accompanied Almeric in an excursion into Egypt, it was attended with good success, the Moslems not having been able to bear the shock

¹ Cod. Dip. Geros., i. 335.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1163.

² Vertot : ii. 193.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 336.—Num. xxxviii., clxiv.

⁴ Id. : Num. clxxxvii.

⁵ Sir Harris Nicholas : Synopsis, i. 32.

⁶ Cod. Dipl., 335, 336.—Bosio.—Hoveden ibi.

⁷ Id : Id.—Num. xxxviii.

of the Hospitallers and Templars,¹ which led to peace, and an alliance to defend that land from a threatened invasion; and the utmost generosity on the part of that caliph, who made splendid presents to his Latin allies, and remunerated their services well, "to send them home content," was followed by a solemn treaty between them and the Egyptians, by which these were to pay one hundred thousand gold crowns to the King of Jerusalem. The barren Judea appeared to him a sorry sight, and a sway poor and narrow compared to the fat and fertile banks of the Nile; discussing the probability of Jerusalem becoming again subject to Cairo, as it had been before Godfrey's conquest; and if the aged grand master encouraged those wanderings of the royal mind, what might be pardonable to the fervent imagination of youth, should not to the cold season of judgment and duty.

Almeric pored over the dangerous thought, and that it would be better for him to seize the Pharaohs, than wait for the Pharaohs to come and seize him. So he sent ambassadors to the Greek Emperor Manuel, whose niece he had married (like his brother in 1149), and her uncle encouraged his projects against Egypt, and offered

¹ Vertot : ii. 185.—Bosio, par. i., lib. 2, anno 1163.

him a fleet,¹ and unveiling his breast to Assaly, now Grand Master, he met with an easy, perhaps immoral assent.² Even if the entire political plan did not succeed, of the utter conquest of Cairo, and to make it a provincial town, dependent on Jerusalem, still great riches would be acquired by the pillage of all Egypt. Yet the grand master could do nothing without a general council of his knights; and that his opinion would be theirs, would be extremely problematic; so, to gild the pill, it was accompanied by the royal offer, that if they took Heliopolis,³ the first city the Christian army would besiege in Egypt, and finest, except the Cairos—it would be given to the Hospitallers; and of the beauty of Heliopolis and its signal advantages, which would soon render it the centre of European commerce, Assaly spoke at great length, and how fit a residence it would be for the order, if ever it was driven from Jerusalem; as we see had already become a possibility.⁴ These false reasonings, and probably some not unambitious feeling in the younger knights, and the influence of the grand master and his partisans, checked every opposition from the elders of the assembly;⁵ so, shut-

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 232.

² Vertot: ii. 193.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xlvii. Num. xlviii.

⁴ Vertot: ii. 195. ⁵ Vertot: ii. 196.

ting their ears to further attempt at calm discussion, the majority with loud cries for war voted an unlimited credit of money for its expenses.¹

At this, Almeric made sure of the Templars. But he was wrong, for they absolutely refused to consider the matter at all, as quite contrary not only to the statutes of their rule, but to every sentiment of honour and justice. The more so that a Templar had been one of the signatories to the treaty to be broken, and had been admitted to kiss the caliph's hand on it, being the first Christian who ever had that honour, or been allowed to enter that sacred, gloomy, rich, mysterious palace.² For

1167 that it was of direct obligation to keep faith with all men, even Pagans; whereas here it was proposed to begin with a most flagitious act, the breach of a treaty to which they had so lately sworn and affixed their formal signature. It ended by the Grand Master of the Temple and all his order declining to take part in any such enterprise, and that they would remain quietly in their own quarters. And so they did; and Almeric, with his army and the Hospitallers, marched without them.

It is not to be supposed there was much of the

¹ Vertot: ii. 197.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1165.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 280.—Vertot: ii. 188.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1166 and 1168.

spiritual in the strife between the caliphs; though he of Bagdad blessed Nouredin, and of Cairo cursed him. To the vulgar it was religion, and had the pomp and circumstance of a holy war; yet Nouredin, in the bottom of his heart, might exclusively desire to extend his temporal kingdom. Though his thoughts were principally turned towards the Nile, yet from desultory conflicts with Christians he never ceased. In a surprise in Syria, he threw himself on a horse still picketed, and might have been either taken or killed, but for a Curd,¹ who lost his own life in assisting him. And when at some distance, he was advised to retire further, or that he might be attacked by the Franks: "I swear by the living God not to lie under a roof before revenging Islam and myself for this indignity," was his reply. On another occasion,² to one of his own pay-masters he said, "Give my soldiers the indemnity they ask, simply, instead of swearing them, or examining their accounts at all, without heeding the sum. What right have you to curtail my generosity?" And when his ministers, seeing his immense expenses, hinted at seizing the church property, he received the advice with serious displeasure, and answered, "Why deprive them of

¹ Arab. Chron., 110.² Id., 110.

their revenues—these who fight for me at all times, even when I am asleep in my bed—to enrich people who only know how to fight for me when I am leading them, and whose arrows sometimes hit and sometimes miss? It is from the prayers of the little that I expect my victories; for is it not writ, ‘*From the little you shall draw your subsistence and your strength?*’ It would be a grievous injustice in me to touch what was given them by others, learned holy saints who founded, and with what belonged to them endowed, the establishments that every good Mahometan ought to revere!”

To prepare himself for a campaign, he used to sleep on the hard bare ground, and abstain from all sensual pleasures. Mesopotamia, most of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia the Happy, composed his vast dominions when he died at Damascus¹ (of a quinsy, at fifty-six), in some hole of a room, nearly without assistance, which he shunned. Moslems say he deserved a place next the four earliest of Mahomet’s followers.² He adhered faithfully to his marriage vow. Every day he read a chapter of the Alcoran, besides his long fervent prayers. Once, on a representation to increase his frugal expenses, he replied, “Not even for my

¹ Arab. Chron., 152.

² Id., 153.

beloved wife will I incur the risk of falling into hell's fire. The money does not belong to me, but to all Mahometans. As for me, I am extremely poor, and will not, to please her, become an unfaithful treasurer. However,"¹ added he, softening, "I possess three little shops, which I let out to rent at Edessa, and she may take them if she likes."² A learned and pious person having observed in a letter to him that field sports were over futile for so wise a true believer, Nouredin, highly hurt at the reproach, wrote back with his own hand: "In the presence of God, it is not to amuse myself, but to keep in training myself and my horse; for, often close to the enemy, we must be ready day and night, winter and summer; and it is a holy war, a war for Islam and the Lord's self. Repose is frequently quite necessary to the soldiery, and then, likewise, they must be kept in exercise. I ought to give the example, and be always prepared to mount on horseback, continually on our guard. Our horses must be rendered docile to the rider's voice; and for this reason accustomed to it, and know him well personally; and before the Almighty, that is my only motive for sometimes playing at mall."³

He had much studied jurisprudence, and loved its

¹ Arab. Chron., 154.

² Id., 155.

purity, and strictly conformed himself to its injunctions. Once he was cited, and instantly went to the tribunal or *cadi*, and said, "I come to defend my cause, do towards me as towards any one else." And when, after a patient trial, the sentence was given in his favour, he added, turning to the *cadi* and court: "I knew that my accuser was wrong; but I am glad to prove it was not my desire to injure him. At present, that it is clear justice is on my side, I wish to make him a free gift of that land, therefore I call you to witness that I give it up to him."¹ The reverse of all the Moslem sovereigns of his day, he forbade the use of torture, under any pretext. Progress, that no one would have expected at that time in such a quarter.² He was, indeed the first Mahometan that ever erected a court of appeal, and he presided there himself, twice a-week, in presence of his *cadis*; on which his greatest *effendi*, who had been guilty of much extortion, called his lawyers, and bade them instantly satisfy every one of his creditors, for that anything was preferable to appearing at the bar before Noureddin and the judges. At which he shed tears of joy, and exclaimed, "Praise be to God that our subjects do

¹ Arab. Chron., 157.² Id., 158.

right of themselves, without its being necessary for us to constrain them to it." ¹ The great object of his life—in appearance at least—was to wage war on the Christians; the decree of God against which he never attempted to struggle.² Also on heretics; and in the Fatimites he saw not so much their Mahometanism as their heresy, and persecuted this, rather more than he loved and revered that. With regard to free thinkers, or the sect who called themselves *philosophers*, he only followed his father in punishing them severely, and with extreme opprobrium, as atheists, and had them scourged on an ass through the whole city.³ Towards such he was inexorable, saying, "Why then should we punish robbers and highwaymen, if not those who sap the very foundations of all religion?" Having found a piece of money too much in the accounts, he gave it back to the treasurer, saying, "I know you will think it a trifle, for which very reason I beg of you to accept it, since your shoulders are less weak than mine, and I am afraid it might be an injustice that would draw on me an affair with the Omnipotent God."⁴

He was the first to render military benefices hereditary; small fiefs, or colonies, to receive

¹ Arab. Chron., 161.

² Id., 162.

³ Id., 164, 170.

⁴ Id., 159.

veterans, and furnish recruits.¹ Many hospitals, and particularly the great hospital at Damascus, were founded by him; so vast and wealthy an establishment for all Mahometans in general, rich or poor, without distinction, that, "once asking," says the historian of the Atabecs, "for a doctor, I was directed to the great hospital, where the doctor wrote me a recipe and said, 'In a moment my apprentice will bring it to you.' To which I replied, 'But, Sir, thanks be to Heaven, I can pay for my own drugs, without trespassing on the property of the poor.' On which, he looked at me steadily: 'O Sir, I have no doubt but you can do without our drugs; but here no one disdains to accept Noureddin's benefits. In the name of God, I assure you that emirs and sovereign princes send to this hospital for their medicine, and never pay.' 'I was ignorant of that.' 'It is that his desire was to be useful to all Moslems, rich or poor!'"² He also erected many khans, or caravan-serais,³ as well as forts, fortresses, and mosques, and monasteries for sophis; and he it was who erected that most useful invention, pigeon posts,⁴ and magnificent colleges for every sort of science, which, at that time meant more than theology, or mere

¹ Arab. Chron., 165.

² Id., 167.

³ Id., 167.

⁴ Id., 150.

poetry, and comments on the Alcoran, but much chemistry, mathematics, medicine, law, astronomy, mining, architecture, at least.¹ Nevertheless, few were the mourners for his death, since there was something haughty and despotic in his manners. He scarcely permitted people to sit down in his presence, before he had told them so to do, except that on perceiving a doctor of law, or sophi, or faquir, he used to rise to do them honour, and make them sit down close by his side, as one of his own family, and converse with them amicably. The Mahometan Prince of Moussul, by proclamation, told his subjects to divert themselves, and drink as much as they liked, seeing Noureddin was dead.² During his battle near Tripoli, when his right wing broke, he dismounted, and prostrate was heard praying fervently: "O my Sovereign Master, do not abandon thy servant, for it is thine own Divine religion I protect." Nor did he cease humbling himself, and weeping and rolling his face in the dust, all bathed as he was with tears, till God heard the voice of his supplication, and sent him victory.³

Such was the manner of man had sent Saladin to Egypt, under pretence of assisting the Cairo

¹ Arab. Chron., 168.

² Id., 171.

³ Id., 120.

Caliphs, but in reality to destroy them. They were but lifeless idols, or like the *Rois faineans* of France. Their viziers were their *Mairs du palais*. This state of things led to the double invitation of both Noureddin and Christians. And finally to their honourable dismissal; after Almeric's having received a thousand pieces of gold a-day, besides feeding his pack-animals, as had been stipulated before, and other advantages to "the *Hospitallers, who formed the nerve of Christian armies.*"¹ And indeed Noureddin's army likewise returned to Syria, except that, as the youngest of his emirs, Saladin, with his permission, remained in the Egyptian service.²

1168 It was but a triumphal march to Almeric when he returned again to Egypt; and after small opposition, he took Heliopolis. Before reaching it, he had a visit from a former acquaintance, to whom, as he entered the royal tent, Almeric said: "Hail to the Emir Schems-helkelafel!" "Hail to the perfidious king!" answered the Emir. "Yes! For if your intentions are upright, why are you here?" "I was told that the vizier's son had married Saladin's sister." "That is false; but even if it were true, that is no infraction of the

¹ Arab. Chron., 116.

² Id., 122, 125, 126, 135, 137, 139.

treaty!" "Then truth is," replied Almeric, "that the Franks from beyond sea have forced me!" "Well, what do they want?" "Two millions of pieces of gold." "I'll take your answer to the vizier, and do you tarry here."¹ But instead of Almeric's tarrying, he proceeded to under the walls of Heliopolis, where the vizier's grandson commanded. "Where are we to encamp?" asked the Christian. "On the points of our lances," replied the young man. "Do you think Heliopolis is a cheese good to eat?" "Yes! and Cairo shall be the cream!"² But Heliopolis, when taken, was cruelly sacked and partly burned, before delivering it up to the Hospitallers. This drove the vizier to despair; and it was clear the Egyptian army could make no available defence.³ So the caliph, in his consternation, had nothing for it but to apply to Nouredin as his only protection, and added to his lamentable letter of entreaty an enclosure of the tresses of all the women in his harem, cut off in the extremity of their sorrow, to testify it and stimulate his pity to the utmost haste. "They are the hair of my wives, who implore you to save them from the outrages of the Franks"—reference to the angelic song in the Koran: *Glory be to Him who*

¹ Arab. Chron., 128.² Id., 129.³ Id., 130.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1168.

*has given the beard to man for ornament, and her long hair to woman."*¹ And Nouredin, the moment he received the letter, wrote a command to his best general to take the flower of his troops instantly, with the greatest possible despatch, round by the Dead Sea to Cairo. The difficulty was to stop the Christian till the succour could arrive; and to do so, a desperate expedient² was resorted to, which exceeds by far what patriotism has displayed of most terrible in our own times.

Had the Frank shown humanity at Heliopolis, he most assuredly had taken Cairo without the least resistance.³ But, from the moment the Caireens were reduced to desperation, they changed character and feeling like those who fight with a halter round their necks, resolved to resist unto death, and manned their walls with most formidable energy. Which was represented in glowing colours by that same emir to Almeric, who, whatever their courage, would not let himself be intimidated, but moved on. The very same authority that rates both the Cairos of that age at seven millions—three for the old, and four the new—estimates Pekin at less than two.⁴ Old Cairo stood on the east bank

¹ Arab. Chron., 130.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 236. ³ Id: Id., ii. 237.

⁴ Comm. Geograph.

of the Nile; the new, where it yet stands; and fortified round—in a circuit twenty-two miles (say some) and others, thirty.¹ So those of the new joined their rulers in an invitation to all of the old, to remove instantly within fortifications, that at least had the river between them and the enemy. Perhaps (deducting exaggerations) old Cairo was the largest and most thickly populated city ever in the world, after New Cairo, ancient Thebes, and Babylon on the Euphrates. Old Cairo was also called Babylon,² and outdid and destroyed Memphis.³ It was in Old Cairo our Saviour spent part of his earthly life.⁴ Would the citizens of that unfortunate place obey such a mandate, and, abandoning all their property, quit their native dwellings, men, women and children—every human being? Had the world till then in any age produced such examples of self-devotedness? To hurry Nouredin the more, he in the same despatch had been offered the third of all Egypt,⁵ and full pay and every necessary for his army, if it got in time to save the government. The army consisted of two thousand picked Turks, and six thousand Turcomans,⁶ all on valuable horses. Nouredin

¹ Comm. Geograph, ii. 189.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 34. ³ Michaud: Orient, vi. 19.

⁴ Id.: Id., Orient, vi. 20. ⁵ Arab. Chron., 130.

⁶ Arab. Chron., 131.

had accompanied them to Rosselma, edge of the desert, and, on taking leave of them, had given each soldier twenty pieces of gold over and above his pay; and besides splendid accoutrements to the commander-in-chief for himself, handed him as credit for the public service (to face fortuitous calls) a sum of two hundred thousand gold pieces. Human wisdom and generosity could go no further. No other Mussulman since the commencement of the crusades, had been able to go to any such expense.¹ But is all soon enough? Let them have pinions! Not the third of Egypt, but will not the whole of it be his, when he has his lieutenant there? Whatever be Saladin's Egyptian title, he to Nouredin will be but his lieutenant.²

An advance of Almeric produced a return of the confidential emir, who dwelt anew on the resolution of those of Cairo; and thus the vizier had bid him reason: "If your Majesty even take it, much blood at least will be lost—neither you nor I can be sure of victory—on both sides numbers of brave men must infallibly be slain; then is it not better for both of us to agree in sparing such slaughter by your receiving what I offer—four hundred thousand pieces of gold?" Some assure one

¹ Arab. Chron., 132.

² Id., 139.

million. The king assented, and receiving one hundred thousand, allowed a delay for the rest.¹ But to please the Franks, he was forced to a further advance; and, though a carrier pigeon arrived to the caliph with a note that Noureddin's forces were on the road and would arrive within fifteen days, yet the assault might be sooner; and if the tidings reached the Christians, immediate.² Almeric had now pitched by the lake, scarce two leagues from Old Cairo. New Cairo was indeed fortified, and might stand a severe siege; but the old was defenceless, and the soldiers at all events might have every comfort there, during several weeks of rest; and even fearfully pillage it, before going to assault the new. But the fatal Emir Schems-elk-helafè entered again the royal tent. It was night-fall, and he led the king to the canvass door and lifted it: "You see those immense flames that mount up to heaven?" "I do!" "Well, it is Old Cairo on fire, I lighted it myself, by the caliph's and vizier's orders. I had twenty thousand bottles of naphtha sprinkled everywhere on the heaps of wood and other inflammable matter; and lit it at once in hundreds of places with

¹ Arab. Chron., 131.

Ibn-Alatir, 151.

ten thousand matches. It has been resolved that whole city shall perish for ever and ever. There is no possible remedy. So you must retire." "You are right," said the dejected monarch. And on the same moment began his retreat, lest his own camp should be burned also.¹ Slowly he moved backwards and stopped beyond Heliopolis several days,² while the Hospitallers³ evacuated the city given to them with so much pomp one month before.⁴ But it was idle waiting. No transitory flame was that which he had left. Not an inhabitant remained to try to extinguish it, nor by any mortal was an attempt ever made to put out that mighty fire. Had there been, it would have been in vain; the pitiless flames were at full liberty to burn themselves out; not a roof, scarce a wall was left standing, the conflagration lasted fifty-four days. In lieu of a fine city, there is now a sorry village named Forstat; where it is possible that some of those black, half-shattered columns shown in the mosque may have survived the fire, and been afterwards furnished with gables and a roof; and still more is it not quite impossible but where our

¹ Arab. Chron., 130.

² Id., 132.

Vertot: ii. 205.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

⁴ Cod. Dipl. Geros., 448.—Num. xlvii. and xlviii.

infant Saviour and his blessed mother sojourned, may exist; for it is a cavern or grotto.¹ Old Cairo had an amazing quantity of splendid palaces as the residences of the opulent Egyptian patricians, which rank appeared to have existed then, though there has been scarce a shadow of any such in Egypt for centuries. Its being an open town, made it more convenient for horses; and besides it contained the chief charitable and religious establishments, and its streets were neither so narrow nor so crowded and suffocating as New Cairo: but above all, there was more liberty; as not exactly under the despot's eye, nor every moment subject to his caprices, so that a menaced grandee could escape into the country or desert or Upper Egypt; and the same might be said of other classes respecting the custom-house officers, or tax-gatherers and the multifarious tools of a bad administration; as well as avoiding their inevitable consequences, frequent frantic and bloody revolutions. Once that nest of aristocracy is in cinders, tyranny may reign rampant over the whole land of Egypt. Nothing to arrest the tyrant; all moral restraint at an end, and vice and brute force are everything.² *Be ware of Egypt* was scriptural; but into whatever effeminacy or

Michaud: Orient., vi. 20.

² Id.: Hist., ii. 240.

profligate manners Syria or Palestine had fallen, the warning was as applicable in 1168 as in the period of the Old Testament.

One other call from the emir, before Almeric can get off, who had received a hundred thousand pieces of gold in part payment of the sum promised him; and shall he return home with them?¹ "The vizier begs you to send him back half the money."

"Assuredly." "Upon my word, your majesty is extremely generous, having an army that makes you master of our lives!" "It is, I am very certain," replied the King, "that your having spoken to me in such a way is proof something extraordinary has happened." "You are right," rejoined the Emir; "for Noureddin's troops have passed our frontiers; so you are in no safety here any longer. The vizier advises you to depart. We mean to respect the treaty. The cash we have, added to this from you, may suffice to satisfy Noureddin's general; and as to our debt to you, we'll pay it when we can." "Just as you like," answered the King; "I shall at all times endeavour to be useful to you; you have only to command." And with most melancholy reflections, the Christian continued his

¹ Arab. Chron., 132.

retreat to Palestine. For was not evident irony in the vizier's words? The king himself had broken a treaty; and why expect the Egyptians to keep theirs? The whole world shall hear of the retreat of the Christians. Villany has been punished, and perjury; and the Egyptians rejoice at it.¹ One moiety of the gold pieces was given back to them, and the other being nearly expended, this military chest would hardly suffice to keep his men alive as far as Jerusalem; and the Constantinopolitan fleet shipwrecked!² Not only his dreams, but all his best-founded hopes had vanished.

Nor were D'Assaly's ideas brighter; for where was Heliopolis? City, commerce, maritime power, immense revenue, sovereign rights over a vast tract of most fertile country comprising fifty villages, nearly a million of inhabitants, handed over like so many beasts of burden—all had disappeared; and what remained to the order was a debt of four hundred thousand crowns, prodigious sum for that time.³

Pushed hard by Noureddin's Turcomans all along that disastrous road, when Almeric reached his metropolis, it was with an army frightfully reduced

¹ Arab. Chron., 133.

² Vertot: ii. 204.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

³ Id. ii. 205.

by desertion, sickness, famine, and with the shame of having broken a solemn treaty, and undertaken an unjust and ill-planned enterprise.' On the miserable grand-master most of the public blame fell; so that this, added to his self-reproaches and those of his brethren, forced him at length to abdicate against the advice of the king, patriarch, and a large majority of his own knights; and hurrying to Normandy, he did homage to Henry II. at Rouen, and embarked at Dieppe for England, and was lost, for the ship foundering at sea, he was not among the eight saved.² In his place, in 1170,³ was substituted, as *locum-tenens*, Sir Castus for a few months, and then Sir Roger de Moulin for a few months, during which the knights in full chapter drew up a memorial to the Pope, asking him to decide whether they should take back D'Assaly (of whose death, so far off, they did not know), or elect a new one;⁴ but that during the interregnum, both Castus and Moulin, though only *locum-tenens*, should be called grand master in the deeds, is only following the Syrian custom; as, during young

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 240.

² Vertot: ii. 207.—Hoveden.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. i., 336.—Num. li.

⁴ Id.

Num. clxxxvi.

Bohemond's minority, his guardian was called in the deeds Prince of Antioch.¹ So Moulin is called grand master in a deed still extant of 1173, though in reality he did not attain that dignity till several years later. It is thus Sebastian Paoli puts history on a fair agreement with the incontestible documents; and is he not right?² But in 1170 1173 we come to the regular election. Nevertheless, let Sir Castus have his place among the grand masters as sixth by courtesy; and with time Du Moulin will have his too, but in reality.

The seventh Grand Master, then, is Sir Robert, or Joubert, or De Osbert; greatly celebrated, years before, for the great ability with which he executed the plan of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, in getting over Poitiers, to espouse the young Princess of Antioch—which cleverness and royal confidence had been ever since followed up, and at length led to this remuneration. Of what country he was, is uncertain, so any may be given. It is likely that the French historian would have told us if 1173 he was from France, and a Joubert; that being his surname, and Robert, as in the Italian version, his

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 47.

² *Cod. Dipl. Geros.*, i.—Num. lii.

³ *Id.* i., 337.

Christian. By some he is called Robert, by others Roger or Richard, Josberto or Osberto, Jesberto, or Zeberto, which equally prove it a surname; and, certainly, to translate Osberto, Osbert is less change than Joubert. So, he may very well have been a Sir Robert Osbert of the family of that Norman who was Bishop of Exeter, in 1102.¹ And, indeed, it is but fair to indulge such surmises, that agree with his being at the Court of England, under Henry I;² for it is quite remarkable that, where there were so many English-Norman knights, there should seem to be so few grand masters of that nation. There must have been many, but their names are disguised in the translations. But whatever country he was of by birth, he was a very charitable person, and made bye-laws for the sick, as well as Raymond; one of which, still extant, is that white bread be given to the poor gentlemen, or "*Seigneurs les povres.*" And reading the deed about bread, and all those precautions, we ought to keep in mind that it was in a country often the seat of war, and a city ever threatened with a siege, where the knights, and their healthy visitors too, might be

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas: Synopsis, ii. 846.

² Vertot: i. 105.

reduced to eat inferior or black bread; but the sick got it white, and of pure wheat.¹ He signs himself *Jobert*, in that MS. from the Vatican. Could he have used so ill-chosen a phrase as *seigneurs*, almost a sneer, if applied to mendicants? But they were crusaders—his own equals or superiors.²

The great historian of the order says he died in 1179, from pure sorrow at seeing what ruin was impending over the Holy Land.³ Vertot would have it he fell prisoner and was starved to death.⁴ Hoveden is Vertot's authority. But, in truth, neither opinion agrees with the sure documents; for one of them shows his successor reigning in October of 1177. So, Hoveden certainly mistook, and assigned to Sir Robert, what really befel the Grand Master of the Templars.⁵ During that interregnum of three years, from 1170 to 1173, under Castus, and Du Moulin, as *locum-tenentes*, different events took place; and in 1174, Almeric and Noureddin both died.⁶ ⁷ The former, by his first wife, a Courtenay, left a boy, then about thirteen, and a

¹ Appendix, Num. xxiii.

² P. A. Paoli : 260.

³ Bosio: book i.

⁴ Vertot: ii. 233.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i.338.—Num. clxx.

⁶ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i.—Num. cc., cci., cii. Two of these three documents show Almeric's death, and his son crowned.

⁷ Michaud: Hist., ii. 242.

daughter Sybilla,¹ and, by his second wife, niece of the Emperor of Constantinople, another daughter Isabella. The boy became Baldwin IV., whose guardian or regent was to be his nearest relative, Raymond III., Count of Tripoli, descended from the Count of Thoulouse, or St. Gilles, so famous during the first crusade.² And that the regent bore, amongst the Turks, as nickname, *Satan* of the Franks,³ displayed not only his talents as a politician and soldier, but their hatred of him; which, at least, should have spared him (but did not) his countrymen's suspicion; but these were falling, and of course prompt to suspect. He was a dangerous minister, from the enmity that his unpopular manners incurred, and he was so occupied with defending himself, that little time remained for government. He had cultivated his mind, and read much during his various imprisonments among the Saracens, but his natural talents served him more; for he was too impetuous to consult his wisdom. He thought everything was due to him, and that no favour was as much as he merited. With pride he demanded the recom-

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 364.

² Michaud : Hist., ii. 246.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 228.

pense of his past sufferings and services, and saw justice and public weal nowhere but in his own elevation. So he inspired his young master with terror, and found gold the most effectual poison at both Courts, Moslem or Christian. Inheriting much of his ancestor's activity and ambition, he did also of that indomitable character which irritates the passions, and provokes hatreds the most implacable.¹

To the Grand Master of the Hospitallers the unhappy young monarch could not but be dear, from the memory of his royal grandfather, as well as from his name of Baldwin, which recalled those matchless Normans who had been the order's earliest founders and patrons. It is said the orphan child had more than ordinary talents;² but his tutor told him what no kind and prudent physician would have had the heart to tell him; for it must have broken the boy's spirit for ever, and effectually deprived him of whatever palliative medical art might have attempted, or love, or hope. His cruel pedagogue informed him he was curelessly infected with that terrible disease that is in-

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 247.

² William of Tyre, book xxi.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1173.

finitely contagious, and separates from communication with any healthy creature; that renders one an object of ineffable disgust and terror to every human being for a long time, and is always getting worse, and, after prodigious sufferings, moral and physical, closes by a fearful agony—the leprosy—which marks you as unworthy of every earthly society from the very first, and never admits of the least glimpse of comfort in this world. The most unfeeling of fathers could never have pronounced such an atrocious sentence on his son, much less a mother. If for nothing else, for this William of Tyre merits the severest rebuke; nor that he was that tutor, could the writer have willingly believed; but he must, since it is that same Tyre himself relates it.¹ No wonder then if the hapless youth lost all courage, and teased several with vain entreaties.

Noureddin's death brought Saladin from Egypt, and was the Latin kingdom's knell. That Saladin became a beneficent sovereign to Egypt, is still remembered by the Nilometer, or Joseph's Well, so called from his name Joseph. That he had the Cairo Caliph murdered in or out of the bath²—per-

¹ Michaud: *Bibl. Crois.*, i. 159. ² Vertot: ii. 209.

haps by an order from his master at Damascus¹—is narrated freely by the Christians, but the Moslems are silent;² nor is it improper to hesitate as to giving a verdict of guilty, without clear proof.³ It were murder, aggravated by deep ingratitude, for that caliph had made him vizier, which surpassing elevation Saladin is said to have at first been afraid to accept, and it certainly brought him the envy of his own sovereign. Saladin, who was very fond of pleasure in his youth, soon reformed⁴ into a grave courtly politician and saintly warrior, and decided to receive the robe, and other marks of that supreme dignity, and ascended to the palace, clothed in the caliph's presents—a white turban, embroidered with gold; a robe sparkling with jewels; a tunic lined with scarlet; a mantle of a singularly fine texture; a collar worth of itself alone ten thousand pieces of gold; a scimitar enriched with precious stones, of the value of five thousand pieces of gold; a chestnut mare taken from the caliphate's own private stables, and reputed to be the fleetest in all Egypt, the animal herself valued

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 229. The Bagdad Caliph seems to have approved of all the doings of any lord of the ascendant.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 239. ³ Id.: Id. 241.

⁴ Id.: Id. 239.—Vertot: xi., 190.

at eight thousand gold pieces; her necklace, saddle, and bridle, studded with pearls, stirrups of solid gold, her caparisons of gold, &c., &c.¹ But notwithstanding his lofty station in Egypt, Nouredin in his letters never gives Saladin any other title than his old one of emir,² and having recalled him frequently to Damascus, as if to do him honour, the wary adventurer always declined the invitation, excusing himself on divers pretexts, satisfied with besieging with more or less success Petra, or Montreale, or some other of the Christian fortresses south of the Dead Sea, and then hastening back to Egypt on the approach of any Syrian Mahometans.³ Although, in his replies to Nouredin, we find him always sign himself his Mameluke or slave.⁴ And this mutual distrust made Nouredin on his death-bed recommend his only son to his friends, and that they should save his poor boy;⁵ and the dying father was right in his fears, for Saladin, coming from Egypt, under covert of protecting him from those emirs, removed his real friendly protectors one by one, and at length exiled young Maleksalek to Aleppo, where, under

¹ Arab. Chron., 138.

² Id. 139.

³ Id. 148.

Id. 139.

⁵ Id. 140.

inhuman tortures, he died, though exactly how, was never known. But volumes are in this line from one Eastern to another. "Then happened what happened: I witnessed much I'll never mention; interpret it well, and ask me no more."¹

As in 1171, with the Fatimite Caliph, had expired the Egyptian schism (fourteen caliphs of that race, in 250 years²), those of Bagdad came to extend their spiritual sway to all Egypt, where the black flag of the Abassides was instantly hoisted; and before expiring, Noureddin had the satisfaction of extinguishing a family he considered heretical.

Saladin had now only one superior, and he but spiritual and orthodox; and as Sultan—1174—was prayed for in all the mosques of his vast dominions.³ From 1174, absolute sovereign, up and down in a succession of useful victories, Saladin settled his dynasty—that of the Ajoubites, and, overrunning the Bekaa, then a rich popular valley, though now comparatively a solitude, visited the ruins of Baalbeck, the ancient Heliopolis of Asia, which Tyre confounds with Palmyra.⁴

If the Latin kingdom, Syria and Palestine, was

¹ Arab. Chron., 176.

² Vertot: ii. 182.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 241.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 247. ⁴ Id.: Id. 248.

tumbling down, perhaps it is that the heroes of the cross had disappeared, and, with the not unfair exception of the military orders, warlike virtue was gone. The descendants of an illustrious race had degenerated from their pristine morals, and contracted what may be compared to the impure stain oozing from the olive, or rust that corrodes steel.¹ Nor is this the opinion of a fanatical monk alone, but also of a cool statesman. Immediately on return from Egypt Almeric had undertaken an imploring visit to Constantinople, with confidence in his relationship to the Greek sovereigns; but it produced nothing.² A little later, he had to investigate that outrage perpetrated on the Old Man of the Mountain's merchant; and the criminal Templar was thrown into prison, and after trial, sentenced to death, which certainly would have been executed, if Almeric had lived; but not being so, the Assassins considered they had a full right to put any new King of Jerusalem to death, as responsible for his predecessor's neglect of justice.³ Another Templar, in Armenia, had become Mahometan, an Englishman, Robert de St.

¹ Michaud : *Hist.*, ii. 245.—Vitri.

² Id : Id. 240.

³ Vertot : ii. 219, 223.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

Alban.¹ But if one Judas did not dishonour the twelve, neither should two the Templars. But the pair of culprits furnished some cloak of reason to cite, when the storm began to rise against the whole body of those unfortunate gentlemen.²

Whether the following events happened exactly before or after Almeric's death is not quite certain; at least Michaud and Vertot disagree on the subject.³ The eldest of Baldwin IV.'s sisters married the Marquis of Monferrat, called Longsword, and he dying in a few months, left Sybilla, a young widow, with an infant son, heir to the throne, and she, having seen Guy Lusignan, a Frank adventurer, at Court, he debauched her, and her brother had to make them marry.⁴

Isabella, Almeric's other daughter, was given in wedlock to the famous Thoron's son, or nephew, a boy only ten, and she eight. And, after her divorce from him, she had several husbands, among whom was not, as is pretended, Renaud de Châtillon,⁵ widower of the Princess of Antioch, who may have married old Thoron's widow, and young

¹ Hoveden.—Bibl. Crois., ii. 775.

² Vertot: ii. 214, 218.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

³ Id.: 223.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 253. ⁵ Id.: 249.

Thoron's mother; and now in right not of his own, but of the minor Thoron's wife as their factor or lieutenant, was called Lord of Petra and Montreale. And this is so true, that Renaud does not appear in the list of her husbands, in Seb. Paoli, or any other documents.¹ But the Hospitallers appear to have had military possession of both Petra and Montreale frequently.² Saladin besieged them ineffectually in Almeric's time. Montreale, Mons Regalis, so designated from its having been built by a king—Baldwin I., is called by the Arabs *Shaubeq*, the name of the mountain on which the town was built. Both Petra and Montreale were reputed impregnable, and built for the express purpose of keeping the road open between Syria and Egypt, round by the Dead Sea, and of dominating Arabia and the Bedouins. The soldan, when afterwards in his hands considered them the keys of the road to

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 366.

² William of Tyre: books xv. and xx.—Kрак, or Kerak, or Petra Deserti, the Petra of antiquity, the Petra now so famous among travellers. Petra and Montreale were different fortresses, more than sixty miles asunder. Mons Regalis distat ab urbe Crac (vel Petra), xx. leucas versus Egyptum. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 448 —Num. lxii. Crac vel Petracensis civitas est castrum ubi civitas olim Petra. Id. Id. Sanuti makes a mistake in thinking it and Montreale the same place.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

Mecca, and, for that reason, refused to give them back to the Franks, though he offered to return Jerusalem to them, and to pay for reconstructing its walls. But both the King of France and the Mahometan continuing to hold Petra and Montreale *a sine quâ non*, the treaty was broken off for ever.¹ That was many years later, and only mentioned now, to show how important those places were.

But now Sidon, and Paneas, and several other places fell, and by storm was taken the Christian fortress, above Jacob's ford, on the Jordan, the defence of Galilee; in which fortress many of the Templars were slain, and their grand master made prisoner, and flung into a dungeon, where the barbarians (incensed that to their demand to get himself ransomed, his reply was that *by an old custom no Templar could give more ransom than his girdle and his knife*) made him die of hunger; and they *sawed* two of his knights asunder, with a wooden saw, like Isaiah;² and several Hospitallers left their corpses there, and their Grand Master, Osbert may have been severely wounded; but he got back alive to Jerusalem, for we have a document of his 1177

¹ Vertot : iii. 410.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1171.

² Roberto del Monte : Chron.—Bibl. Crois. iii. 96.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1178.

dated January, 1177, between which month and the following October, he must have expired; for another document shows Du Moulin reigning in October, 1177. Vertot may have been very right in saying Osbert died of grief, at the sure signs of the approaching ruin of the Frank kingdom, only he mistook as to the date; as he was assuredly borne out in affirming that no landed acquisitions could be a compensation for the loss of a wise and able politician, and great captain, as Osbert was.¹

Most of the Christian forces having marched towards Antioch and to the siege of Harenc—a scene of the grossest dissipation and gambling, and diversions the most dissolute—as well as the honest recreation of hawking—Saladin advanced against Jerusalem, which compelled poor Baldwin IV. with all his ailments, to march out against him, accompanied by the Count of Tripoli, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers and many Knights Templars; and “by the goodness of God” was enabled to overthrow the Mahometan chief so completely, that he had himself to take part in the flight, nor could but scramble in haste up a dromedary and escape into the desert. Yet the

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 338.—Num. clxix. and clxx.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. v., anno 1180.

cavalry of Baldwin is said to have been only three hundred and seventy-five; who cut all the Mamelukes to pieces in their silk surcoats of saffron (Saladin's colour), and the whole road was strewed with cuirasses, helmets, little short iron boots of the Moslem runaways, who for the most part perished of thirst, hunger, and cold—for it was now November of 1179.¹

Nevertheless dire were the presentiments of Jerusalem.² When Saladin was driven back with that great overthrow, so that scarce one of the Egyptian army ever got back to Egypt, yet a victory was proclaimed at Cairo, and pigeons spread the triumphant news over Egypt *to quiet the spirits of the public.*³ How unlike modern times! Nor had it been the fault of the Moslems (say their writers), but the leper king, before he marched, alighted and in tears prayed to the Omnipotent, who thereupon sent a violent wind, that blew the dust against the eyes of the Mahometans, that they were forced to run away, and Saladin was so sore on the matter, that he swore to abstain from the nouba till he had avenged his honour. The nouba in the

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 251.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1176.

² Id.: Id., 252. ³ Arab. Chron., 179.

East is a kind of music that only royal persons have a right to, five times a-day at their door—a privilege which he who renounces, for even a short space, is considered as abdicating so long all his other highest privileges, and confessing he lies under a stain, which must be washed out.¹

In one of the late battles, the son of the Lord of Ramlah—a private nobleman, was obliged to pay as ransom for himself alone one hundred thousand gold pieces and the liberty of one thousand Mussulmen; and Saladin's favourite physician, a Doctor Jssa, being made prisoner on the other side, the soldan paid sixty thousand pieces of gold to ransom him. How money had increased since the first crusade, when the ransom of a sovereign would hardly have been rated at such sums.²

In 1179 fell in battle Humphry de Thoron, remarkable for his wisdom and valour.³ He was uncle or father of the youth of that name who espoused the child Isabella, younger sister of Baldwin IV., a marriage that was afterwards to be broken.⁴

That there had been some small dissensions

¹ Arab. Chron., 180.

² Id. 182, Note 2.

³ Id., 181.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 366.

between Hospitallers and Templars is a natural consequence of human defects in which both parties may have erred from the strict rule of right—weaknesses scarce meriting notice, 1181 and no doubt frightfully exaggerated; but, whatever they were, Alexander III. made the two orders agree.¹ There had been disturbances at Antioch which were appeased by umpires, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the two Grand Masters of the Hospital and Temple.² As 1183 well as a mutiny at Constantinople happened, in which nearly all the Hospitallers in that city were murdered, and the great establishment there sacked, including hospital and church.³

Saladin accused his rival Moslems of leaguings with the Franks and the Assassins as if they were all one; and to his eyes they were so, or he wished it so to be thought, and that he was a staunch prejudiced Mahometan.⁴ Therefore when advancing against the Christians at Beyrout, he wheeled round suddenly and marched beyond the Euphrates to attack the Moslem Prince of Moussul; because he had made a treaty of truce with the Franks

¹ Rymer: i. 149.—Vertot: ii. 235.

² Vertot: ii. 238.

³ Id.: Id., 240.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 184.

for twelve years, paying them a tribute of ten thousand gold pieces a-year; Saladin also declaring there was a secret article to make war on him in Syria, Egypt, everywhere. So having threatened the Tigris, and taken Damascus and Aleppo, he was master of the most of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. All he had to do, was to conquer Palestine.¹

Yet if the Moslems were divided a little, greatly more so were the Christians. *The sons of Belial* (in the chronicler's words), the true workers of ruin, hates, jealousies, mistrusts, embittered and tried to profit by the royal infirmities. No consolation for weak Baldwin! Little of this time is worth recounting, except an expedition made by Renaud de Chatillon from Petra against the shores of the Red Sea; for he built some ships at Petra, and had them carried on the backs of camels to Suez, where launching them, he devastated many places along the coast. As Christians had never appeared there before, the Turks were taken by surprise; and he made a large booty, advancing to the vicinity of Mecca and Medina. But here he was stopped by forces from Egypt. The Christians on the east

¹ Arab. Chron., 185.

bank were ready to ravage the holy cities, when the Saracen massacrers let few escape; and as to the prisoners, these were handed over to the haggis, who mostly cut their throats at Mecca, in place of a sacrifice of sheep as is usual every year, or lambs; and what Christians remained after the pilgrimage, were sent to Egypt to be immolated by the devout, and the doctors of the law.¹ The real Franks were not above three hundred; but there was a large proportion of apostate Arabs. The Christians' design was to disinter the Prophet's bones, and export them to Europe, to deprive the faithful of one of their chief objects as pilgrims. The intentional desecrators were within a day of Medina when arrested. Violent was Saladin's rage when he heard of such profanation: "The infidels have dared to violate the very cradle and asylum of Islamism. They have contaminated the country with their looks. It is a deep stain. Take care that the prisoners who have once seen the road do not return to be guides. We should be inexcusable in the eyes of God and men; every tongue would curse us throughout the whole East, and parts of the West also. Purge then the earth of those

monsters who dishonour it. It is our sacred duty. Let us cleanse the air of the air they breathe, and let them all be devoted to death." Such were Saladin's secret written orders¹—preparing the murder. And he undertook himself to besiege Petra, but did not succeed; so returned to Damascus, killing, burning, and destroying everything along the road. The Prince of Moussoul being now his vassal by force, had no longer alliance with the Franks; so Saladin had nothing else to think on but war against the adorers of the cross.² And to any of his emirs that wished for peace, this was his ready reply: "Allah has made it our strict obligation to carry on the holy war, without the smallest intermission. Nor are we to foresee wants or difficulties. His precepts are his orders. His promises a sure gage. Let us do our duty, and Allah will do His. He who neglects Allah, Allah will neglect him."³

The *Leper King*, known by that abhorred distinction, and that alone in the whole history of man, suffering from leprosy, or *king's evil*, or (are they the same?) *morbo regio laborans* being the

¹ Arab. Chron., 187.

² Id., 188.

³ Id., 181.

words of at least one chronicle¹—yet was his death to be a calamity to Palestine—the Leper King, seeing it was impossible for him to marry, or even hold the reins of government, and being now entirely out of minority, began the removal of Count Tripoli, and to associate his own brother-in-law, Guy; reserving to himself only the title of king, the possession of the metropolis, and a pension of about ten thousand crowns. But it excited the envy of the *grande*es; nor Tripoli disrelished such divisions.² Renaud, from Petra and Montreale, by his lawless incursions affording too good grounds for the reprisals Saladin desired, this called out a Christian army, and Guy at its head; and however it was, whether from his own incapacity, or want of discipline in his officers, he spent more than eight days in presence of an enemy inferior to him in numbers, without coming 1184 to battle;³ which cowardice, and the loud protests of the chiefs of the state, prepared the sure ruin of the Latins, say Mahometans.

Both they and Christians agree in pronouncing that the proximate cause was Renaud de Chatillon's

¹ *Annales Aquininetem.*—*Bibl. Crois.*, iii. 320.

² Vertot: ii. 241.

³ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 358.

breach of the truce which Saladin, in spite of all his prejudice, had contracted with the Christians.¹ Strange that the Christians, whose best defence was that sworn truce, were the first to break it, while the infidels kept it.² Nor was it now alone; but Renaud was continually pouncing from either Petra or Montreale, and now, like a robber, was unable to resist the temptation of rifling a caravan passing near on its quiet way to Mecca; but finally asked for peace, when the irritated Moslem was at the very gates of Petra, the Christian's den, which, to the surprise of many there, the soldan granted; for his late fever abated much of his ambition. And the truce he would probably have maintained religiously, though in the bottom of his heart he might rejoice that such a pretext came, as it were, forced upon him; but whatever he might have felt, outwardly he exhibited great anger, and swore to put the perjured traitor to death, if ever he fell into his hands.³ This is so contrary to the noble generosity we are frequently obliged to admire in Saladin, that it leads directly to the observation of his having unfortunately been of a religion that tended to embitter all his worst

¹ Michaud : Hist , ii. 266. ² Id. : Id., 266.

³ Arab. Chron., 189.

qualities, and to suffocate his good; and that, without meaning anything of the bigotry suspected in a monkish speech, it may be very true that had he been a Christian, he would have been a greater hero, and without many of the blemishes that stain him, and which may be fairly imputed less to him¹ than to the malignant dervishes, cadis, santons, around him, and the creed in which he was brought up. To confirm such excuses, here is a literal translation of a Moslem historian regarding another whom he evidently revered: "Some years before, when Saladin had a violent sickness, and that his life was despaired of, Cadi Fadel told him that undoubtedly God wished to punish him for his pitiless lukewarmness towards Islamism, and that the only way to recover his health was to promise the Almighty to turn for the future all his efforts against the Christians, adding that, as a sign of his firm purpose, he ought to begin by swearing to kill with his own hand, on the very first opportunity, Renaud of Petra for his sacrilegious enterprise against Mecca and Medina, as also Count Tripoli, firmest pillar of the Christian army. In the cadi's opinion, it was necessary to put those two wretches to death.

¹ Aboulfarage: 19.

On which Saladin gave his hand to the *cadi*, as consenting. When, two years after, the war broke out, the *cadi* took care to remind the soldan of his vow, and that it was only on this condition that God had restored him his strength. And this was the reason why he showed a more than usual fervour. It was the *Cadi Fadel* himself who recounted this anecdote to a friend of *Emad-eddin*." ¹

As early as 1184 poor Baldwin IV. had lost his eyes, his extremities had fallen off putrified; he had no more either hands or feet, and abdicating the administration in favour of his sister Sybilla's husband, had his little nephew crowned as Baldwin V., with great pomp; the child (then only five) being borne in a grandee's arms to the Holy Sepulchre, a splendid banquet given in Solomon's Palace, the barons and burghers of Jerusalem serving the new king; nor since then has there ever been a feast of joy in that metropolis.² During his minority his father-in-law Guy was to hold the regency, which dismissed Count Tripoli, whom his many enemies accused of treasonable plots, and a secret correspondence with the Moslem; but upon

¹ Arab. Chron., 198, Note 1. ² Michaud: Hist., ii. 259.

finding Guy decidedly incompetent, and deficient in courage, and unpopular among the soldiery, and, indeed, that they refused to march to battle under such a captain, the leper resumed his powers, and ratified the child's coronation. So Baldwin IV. determined to call back Tripoli to the regency, which the count was induced to accept, only with the express stipulation that the Hospitallers and Templars should promise to command the army, and the boy be under the protection of the Kings of France and England and the Pope; so that Tripoli should be without any responsibility on that head, and then he made a new truce with Saladin, at the severe, but necessary price.¹ The object of the truce was time to ask for a new crusade; and to obtain it, an embassy was composed, as before, of the patriarch and the two grand masters. But that patriarch had been already known as a vain, presumptuous man, and the state council, fearful of his impetuosity and outrageous pride, refused at first, and would have continued their refusal, to confer a place in the embassy on him to the courts of high and haughty sovereigns, were it not for calculating on the moderation, politeness,

¹ Vertot: ii. 247.

and knowledge of the world of his two colleagues.¹

1185. The trio sailed from Jaffa and arrived safe at Brindisi, and there learned that the Pope was at Verona, not to pacify Italy, but driven to it in this horrid manner. The cruel by nature, time easily changes them. Thanks be to God, nothing like what I am going to relate happens now. People are to-day of a purer porcelain.² In a sedition those of Rome seized on some innocent clergymen and scooped out their eyes; and putting them astride on donkeys, each facing backwards and holding the animal's tail, forced them to proceed in rueful procession to Velletri, where the Pope was then in Villeggiatura. Which barbarous sight struck the poor old virtuous Pontiff with such horror that he drove off instantly for Bologna, and thence by Modena to Verona, where he sickened severely, and after lingering a few months, died in the arms of the emperor, who had come to meet and console him.

This Pope Lucius was a Lucchese, and proud of having had the first grand master for countryman; it was a consolation to him to do justice to the order; as he did in a bull still extant, with all the

¹ Vertot: ii. 249.

² Platina: *Vite dei Pontefici*, iii. 25.

formalities that distinguish such instruments.¹ He, like his predecessors, praises the Hospitallers, and says that the Pope was always ready to ascribe fine, holy, and noble things to them, and nothing else. Mild man, he had been bishop of his native city, and loved its quiet, and, as it were, holiness; nor was it very willingly that he sat on the Papal throne—bidding farewell for ever to his dear home, and at his age ascending the tremendous stairs of the stormy Lateran. And to overturn the politics of Jerusalem, one of the three ambassadors expired at Verona—he of the Temple—on whose courteous wisdom it had relied much. The emperor then there was the famous Frederic I., who (destined to die within three years) was soon at Pavia, issuing a confirmation of privileges to the Hospitallers in the most solemn and flattering manner. It shall be given in the Appendix.² The patriarch and the survivor of the grand masters went by France, where they found Philip II., a pleasing young king; crossed the Channel to visit the English monarch, on whose succour they chiefly calculated, Henry II.; where, in the presence, that rampant patriarch made a

¹ Appendix, Num. xiv.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 311. Num. xxxii.—Appendix, Num. xlv.

most insolent speech—which is an excellent proof that the royal personage, so prudent then, could never have permitted his passion to run away with him and use words that naturally led to Becket's murder. Far from obtaining a crusade, to have consigned the brutal envoy to a dungeon would have been no infringement of international law. At this the grief and confusion of the Hospitallers were great, and presenting his Majesty with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and the Jerusalem banner, as sent to him, "because that sacred city has a right to consider you its head and hereditary chief, and descendant of that Duke of Normandy who had been the first choice of the crusaders, though he ungratefully refused the crown offered to him, on which they had to confer it on another, who, however, also was a Norman, as nearly all their kings have ever since been. So, as Duke of Normandy, they have a right to your Majesty's protection." Nor did Henry II. object to their homage.¹ That haughtiest of kings allowed them to go back to Syria with fair words and a considerable sum of money also. The words of Hoveden also are clear, "The keys of the Holy Sepulchre, the tower

¹ Peterborough Chron., 14.—Bibl. Crois., ii. 846.

of David, and Jerusalem, and the royal banner;” but as they are somewhat in contradiction¹ with Michaud, the original shall be in the Appendix.²

The Jerusalem people complained of their ridiculous passionate patriarch, and that as a Heraclius found the cross, so it would be lost now through fault of a Heraclius, whose violent temper made him odious to the whole world.³ And to these murmurings were added the fearful prognostics, a dying king, a minor his successor, and an ambitious, irreligious regent, suspected of a partiality for the infidels, and of aspiring to the crown.⁴ After all which, Baldwin IV., departed on the 15th of March, 1185; and a few days later, Baldwin V., feeble and fragile hope of the Christians, his sudden death being ascribed to poison, whether from Tripoli, or Guy, or the child’s own mother, desirous to become queen, and make her lover (now husband) king. Neither Sybilla nor Guy were satisfied with her brother’s decision; and they resolved on a plot, that 1186 required time, to get the mass of their opponents out of the way.

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 260.

² Hoveden : 2.—Bib. Crois., ii., 773.—Appendix, Num. xxxiv.

³ Vertot : ii. 256.

⁴ Id. : ii. 257.

Whoever takes the pains to scrutinise this chronology minutely, will find it very different from the usual one; but it is to be hoped, he will also find it reposes on the stablest of testimony, to examine which put the writer to much trouble, perhaps more than such small matters merit; but, he flatters himself, it is once for all, and settles them for ever.

Renaud's breach of the truce coinciding (and most iniquitously was it broken by wicked Christians, avow chroniclers),¹ Saladin sent a circular
1187 throughout his dominions, summoning every Mussulman to the holy war, and in May of 1187, marched from Damascus with the caravan for Mecca, and laid siege again to Petra; and his son, marching against Acre, fought the Day of Sephoria, by Christians called the battle of Nazareth. And indeed, the spot where it was fought, is only about five miles to the north-east of Nazareth, into which the two Grand Masters of the Temple and Hospital, with their little escort, had come that very evening, on their way to Tiberias, whither they were sent on a mission by the Jerusalem Government. The little village has disappeared,

¹ Sicardi: 2.—Bib. Crois., ii. 547.

but there is a circumstance mentioned by the chronicler,¹ which marks the spot out still; and it is the threshing-floor of a farm-house of El-Majed, which, however strange it seems, survives to our own days, amid changes of everything else of much more importance, particularly in that extraordinary land, where nearly universal have been the changes during so many centuries, and a rapid succession of masters. Cities, dynasties, and empires, have gone; and here is the threshing-floor, and there is the small hamlet of Cana, still known for ever by the same name.² "It was there," says Mr. Gillot, with most pardonable warmth, "that the France of the East had her Leonidas and Spartans, and they expired under the shade of Mount Thabor, and their Thermopylæ were the passes through those naked calcareous rocks and precipices."³ More astonishing still, Bonaparte's victory of 11th of April, 1799, called battle of Cana, took place on nearly the same spot; and there are not wanting Frenchmen who may consider this as reprisals of that—tremendous length of interval! And the valiant actors—Templars, Hospitallers, and

¹ Bernard le Tresorier : Chron.—Michaud : Orient., v. 455.—Bib. Crois., ii. 574.

² Michaud : Orient., v. 458. ³ Id. : Id., 461.

Republicans, were unconscious of the past or future. A fellow-countryman of Maillé's cut that Templar's name on a small rock that just peeps from the centre of the threshing-floor.¹

The chronicler says, the straw on that threshing-floor was all reduced to dust by Maillé's struggles; and so it would have been now at the same season; another Chalgrove, or Hougoumont, or rather its quiet cottage. While the heroes, so soon to die, slept at Nazareth, that very same night the seven thousand Saracens had passed Jordan, and instantly began to slaughter the peaceful peasantry, who, when they opened their eyes, it was in another world; and at daybreak a voice echoed through the streets, "The Turks, the Turks! to arms, O men of Nazareth! To arms for the true Nazarene!"² And the grand masters and their little escort, of about five hundred, instantly marched to meet their more than ten-fold adversaries. Their meeting was on the threshing-floor in question, fronting the farmer's, at foot of a little hill that shelters the village of El-Mazed, on the road from Nazareth to Cana in Galilee.³ Considering their great in-

¹ Bapt. Poujoulat: *Asie Mineur*, &c., ii. 396.

² Cogglesdale.—Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 266.

³ Bapt. Poujoulat: ii. 397.

equality of numbers—there having been one hundred and thirty cavalry, including Templars and Hospitallers, and four hundred foot, on one side, and on the Moslem, seven thousand—it is not astonishing the Franks were worsted with a cruel slaughter; and after feats the most splendid, particularly by the Marshal of the Temple, Jacques de Maillè,¹ who, by the Moslem, was believed to be St. George on his white horse. The action was on the 1st of May, 1187, and the Grand Master of the Temple and two of his knights escaped.² “God declared for Islam,” say the Mahometans. “He is always in favour of the larger battalion,” say some Christians.³ The Grand Master of the Hospitalers, his horse being killed, fell with him, and the illustrious rider, the sworn foe of Islam,⁴ not disentangling himself fast enough, perhaps partly from the confusion, and partly from his age and the weight of his armour, left time for a crowd of Moslem lancers on foot, to gather round him, and finish him with a thousand wounds. Among whom it was pretended was Count Tripoli, under a

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 267.

² Id.: Id., 268.—Coggeshale's Chron.

³ Arab. Chron., 190.

⁴ Id., 190.

masque—rumour noticed, because others do so—but here only to accompany it with the due stigma of declaring it a wicked falsehood, utterly disproved by the melancholy events that followed. Du Moulin had the noble fine end that became him, and was found the next day beneath a mountain of corpses.¹ The words of Hoveden are very precise, “Et eodem die, videlicet Kalend Maji, sexaginta fratres Templi et summus Magister Domûs Hospitalis, cum pluribus domûs suæ fratribus, interfecti sunt.”² Sir Roger du Moulin was probably the first with the epithet “Grand” in any document, though Bosio and Vertot give the primacy to the bull of after years.³

At these tidings Saladin hurried back from Petra, and at Damascus found a body of ten thousand of choice regular horse;⁴ but of the irregular, so numerous that some Moslems compare them to the entire human race collected together for the day of judgment.⁵ Saladin had no more to do than divide into centre, right, and left, and vanguard and rear, and in that array advanced

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i. 339—Vertot: ii, 265.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. v., anno 1187.

² Hoveden: 635.

³ Vertot: iii. 525.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 190.

⁵ Arab. Chron., 190.—Emad-Eddin.

towards Tiberias for a general action, though contrary to the advice of some of his council; at which time his forces, full of enthusiasm, amounted to eighty thousand men.¹ And he moreover recalled his son with his seven thousand, flushed with victory, from Nazareth, well aware that those victorious troops could not but render his own more ardent;² not disdaining any way of increasing his numbers or rousing them to energy. Thus in his circular he was not ashamed to call all Moslems to join him, whether they acted from religion, or love of plunder and prodigious wealth and untold hoards of money, and all kind of luxury and delights—every morsel of land from Persia to the Nile, towns and villages for his bravest emirs, the spoils of every Christian family and every farm and estate, to be divided among the descendants of those Mussulmen who had been driven from Palestine; all spiritual blessings from the Caliph of Bagdad, and his warmest orisons for those who marched to the conquest of Jerusalem. Thus was it written on his colours: “This is the banner for all who love Mahometans or hate Christians or

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 268.

² Cogglesale: 4.—*Bib. Crois.*, i. 352.

desire unbounded wealth, or lands or palaces. Welcome to all who wish for gold or silver, or jewels, or fields, or fine houses, or captives hard working or beautiful, male or female. All of you join us and fall in quickly."¹ The earlier days of June, he passed in the river.²

As soon as Du Moulin was found by some knights of his order, they bore his corpse into Acre; and, at a chapter holden in its presence, Sir N. Gardiner was chosen. He was at that very time grand preceptor, and had been so certainly from previous to 1180,³ and even constable in 1125, and probably turcopolier,⁴ as well as brother to the Prior of England.

But under the leper, and after his and the minor's death, and during various regencies, the plot had been going on for the last two years at Jerusalem, and divisions, which Saladin kept tacitly fomenting as much as he could. And as soon as the Grand Master of the Hospitallers had been sent on that expedition to beyond Nazareth, whence it was agreed the Grand Master of the Temple

¹ Coggeshale : 3.—Bib. Crois., i. 351.

² Michaud : Hist., ii. 268.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. Num. xlviii.—P. A. Paoli : 300.

⁴ P. A. Paoli : 302, 427.

should return as he did (otherwise he would have stayed to share the heroic death of Maillè, no doubt), and that all the other *grandeës* not in the secret had gone to the states general at Naplouse to consult about who should be king—then the plot broke out, and the gates of the *metroplis* were shut (as we learn from an eye-witness), and no one was allowed to enter or go out for two days and nights, during which there was a meeting of those called the princes; but indeed (adds the same authority) there were no princes there, but only a few priests and the Grand Master of the Temple, and Sybilla, Countess of Joppa, and Guy and their friends—that is, the conspirators. And Sybilla being crowned by the Patriarch and told by him, that as a woman she should give that crown to the person most capable of governing the kingdom, she arose and calling her husband, there present, she said, “Sire, come and receive this crown, for I know no one who can employ it so well!” On which he knelt, and she placed the crown on his head, and so they were king and queen, and proclaimed publicly; and the gates flung open again, and the tidings reached Naplouse. The consternation of those barons was great,¹ and Tripoli exclaimed, “Have

¹ Michaud : *Hist.*, ii. 264.—*Bib. Crois.*, i. 368.

we not Isabella's husband?' Let us elect him so-vereign, who is of Baldwin's blood, but Guy is a total stranger!" which frightening young Thoron, who was only fifteen, he rose and rushing forth, rode off to Jerusalem, and threw himself at Sybilla's and Guy's feet, calling for pardon and doing homage.² And then those at Naplouse separated; and, since it was too late to resist, hurried one by one with their allegiance to the royal pair in Solomon's Palace. And also soon came Sir N. Gardiner from Acre—though melancholy must have oppressed his soul—not for himself, he was resolved to do his duty the very best he could, and die; but he knew that the battle in which he was about to head the Hospitallers, was a vain defence, and that won or lost, Jerusalem must soon be taken, and the Latin kingdom fall. Likewise the high-minded and too injured Tripoli came to a similar resolution, and that in this public extremity, no private considerations should belistened to; though when he met his brother Franks, it was to be thus accosted!—"We suppose you have become a Mahometan!" So Guy, hearing of

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 265.—*Bib. Crois.*, i. 369.

² *Id.*: *Id.*, 265.

his approach, proceeded out on horseback ten miles to meet him, and then they both alighted on the road, and Tripoli knelt and kissed Guy's hand,¹ and, embracing, they entered Jerusalem as devoted friends. All the garrisons from the various towns had been called in, and all the crews of every Latin ship from Scanderoon to Ascalon, and together a body of fifty thousand men occupied the valley, a few miles south-west of Naplouse, which encampment Guy and his suite joined, to hold a council of war, that same evening, and march next day perhaps.²

Saladin had already taken Tiberias, and Tripoli's wife and infant child retreated into the citadel, which still stood, while the Saracens scoured all the country with infinite devastation, and had even burned down the town of Tiberias itself, all but its citadel. The flames were visible from the Christian camp, as well as the ruin of the whole province, that Saladin might drive the Giaours from their position, or by a decoy, which was to succeed. For, in the council of war, when Tripoli had spoken for not stirring, "It being better to lose Tiberias, and I, my town, and wife, and child—no one sacrifices

¹ Bernard Tresorier: Chron., 5.—Bib. Crois., ii. 574.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 268.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 269, Note 2.

so much—than lose Jerusalem. Here are wells, food and shade, but there would be neither. Those arid solitudes would soon consume our army and horses, and hunger and thirst and the burning heats of this season. The Saracens must soon remove, either to attack us at grievous disadvantage, or to retreat from sickness and want of food and water; on which we could pursue them, we and our chargers fresh and vigorous, and with that blessed Cross; for at present the Saracen numbers are in their favour, but then not. Then I swear to you, they'll all perish in Jordan, or the lake, or by thirst, or our swords, or fall into our hands prisoners." Renaud to this, "It is to intimidate us, that he has exaggerated their numbers; but at all events, the more the wood, the better the blaze!" Nevertheless, that soldierly advice of Tripoli's engaged the majority to vote for biding, and Guy adopted that salutary intention.¹ But when he was in his tent, the wily Grand Master of the Temple shook his resolution by protesting that it would destroy the spirit of the army to be lookers on at such barbarous deeds; and that he, for one, and his Templars were resolved

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 271.

not to endure the dishonour, but would lay down their white mantles; so, the unhappy monarch weakly issued orders for an advance to battle, at day-break. Some may suspect the Templar of treason; yet it probably was not, but rash impetuosity. Tiberias, that lay on the western bank of the lake, is no longer to be found; its walls had been rebuilt, but the earthquake of 1837 threw it down; so that a subsequent traveller could not find any shelter to sleep in there, and was obliged to go and bivouac on the opposite bank. For the first time, Guy was obeyed, and it was to ruin the Christian cause.¹ "We suppose you are afraid," said the unblushing Renaud, "since you advised the reverse." "As you go, I will, also," replied Tripoli, "though against my opinion. If it end disastrously, that will be no fault of mine." When Saladin perceived the Christians advance, he saw his stratagem had succeeded, and exclaimed, "We have conquered, and all Palestine is ours!"²

The Count Tripoli led the vanguard, as was his feudal place, on that morning of Friday, the 3rd of July, says the eye-witness.³ The left and right

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 272.

² Arab. Chron., 192.

³ Coggeshale.—Michaud : Hist., ii. 273.—Bib. Crois.

were composed of troops belonging to various barons of Palestine. The centre held the cross, surrounded by a picked corps, and Guy with his bravest knights; the rear was confided to the Templars and Hospitallers. These both were called a swinish race that he was resolved to exterminate, by Saladin. They rarely gave, and had never any reason to expect quarter. At about three miles from Tiberias, the Christians began to suffer from thirst and heat, and met the Saracen. There were high rocks between them and the lake. So Tripoli sent back to the king to bid him hasten his march to gain the lake before night; and the count pushed on, Guy's answer being that he would follow him close. But instead of this the king, hearing that the Turks were pressing on the rear severely, felt irresolute, and gave the command to halt and pitch the tents. So the army was separated, and had to pass a dreadful night; and indeed all was lost. Impossible to depict the sufferings and horrors of that, to them, long night. Still the Franks did not quite lose their courage: "To-morrow we'll find water with our swords." There was much of the pale blue of the country round Rome in that lowland, between the rocky lines that keep it from the most sacred of lakes—a mile off to its right, and

Mount Thabor to its left, at the distance of about three miles. All along that plain grew a quantity of tall dry grass, weeds, and brushwood, to which the Turks set fire; so that, to augment the torment of the Christians already dying of thirst and heat, they were enveloped on every side by smoke and flames, till they became black as devils and half roasted; while the shrill cries of the savages who never one moment ceased from assaulting them, caused the air to ring with the groans and clamours of the murderers and murdered, making a terrific accompaniment to the rustling and roaring of the conflagration. So passed that whole horrid night. And between them and the wavy fresh-water lake, day-break only showed the entire Saracen army in an extensive dense mass. Many were the charges to break through it; and Frank bravery did whatever could be done by valiant and desperate men, speaking of the cavalry; for as to the infantry— but in vain. And now all was confusion, death or flight; yet this was death too, for they were surrounded. Only Tripoli, after prodigies of valour, with his incomparable vanguard united like one man, broke back again through the Saracens and joined his countrymen, who were in the horrors of an irremediable, indisdisciplinable defeat; on which the stoutest of his

peerless corps charged the Saracens once again with such determined valour, that it succeeded as before, and they were the sole large body of soldiery that escaped from that bloody field. Nor was it duplicity in Tripoli, as pretended, nor from any leniency in the Saracens, but as their own Moslem commander confessed afterwards, he saw resolute despair in the Christian looks and whole demeanour, and to avoid it, made his men divide and leave them a free passage. Some other individuals cut their road to liberation; but they were very few. Tripoli's were the only party forming anything like a regular body, and with them the count retreated to Tripoli, his capital, and in a few days died of grief. The army of Franks scarce any longer existed. The picked guards, who retreated with the cross to the right horn of the Hill of Hattim,¹ being for the most part killed, their sacred deposit was taken. It is not in a spirit of hate that Mahometans neglect the cross; but they think the real Jesus returned to heaven, and that an angel was sent down to suffer and be crucified in his place.² After fearful struggles, the king

¹ Rex (Guy), victus cum majoribus Tyronem Hatti ascendit, ubi comprehensus est cum principibus suis et aliis, et in captivitatem ductus.—*Oliveri Scho. Chron.*—*Bib. Crois.*, iii. 137.

² *Arab. Chron.*, 195. Note.

and immediate suite, and the bravest of the survivors, rode up its left horn. "I was then with my father below it," related Afdal, later, "and they charging down from the hillock upon our troops, who were beginning to mount, drove them back; and looking at my father, I saw a cloud of grief on his face. 'Make the devil a liar,' he cried to his Mamelukes, catching hold of his beard. At this they threw themselves on the enemy, and forced him to regain the top of the hill, at which I shouted joyfully, '*They fly! they fly!*' But the Franks returned to the charge, and came down to the very foot of the hillock, yet were again obliged to return up, on which I shouted again, '*They fly! they fly!*' Then my father looked at me, and said, '*Hold your tongue! They will not be truly defeated until the king's standard falls.*' And scarce had he finished speaking, when the standard fell. On the instant my father alighted from his horse, and prostrate, thanked God with many tears of joy."

"This was the way the king's standard fell," says Ibn-Alatir; and, since Mahometans and Christians come to the same conclusion, it cannot but be true. "When the Franks charged down, it was an effort like that of a dying man, for they were ready to expire from thirst; not an endeavour

to rally, for the day was lost, they knew, but to gain the water. So at our repulse, they dismounted from their horses, and sat down on the grass. The Mahometans ascended the hillock, and going round threw down the king's standard. No Christian hand would have dared to do it; and there they sat mute and stupified, making no resistance." But there must have been something in their eyes that protected them; yet they were only a few. It was the whole royal party made prisoners. The king, his brother, Renaud of Petra, the Lord of Gebail, were among them; and young Thoron, the Grand Master of the Templars, and several Hospitallers and Templars. But Gardiner, and his choicest of knights, had cut their way to liberty, or perished in the attempt. Yet though the slaughter had been great, the number of prisoners was great too, including nearly all the infantry, that had refused to fight from the very first. Not so much that they were traitors or cravens, but they declared it impossible for them from the heat and thirst. Of the fifty thousand Christians, scarce one thousand escaped.¹ Never had the Franks, since their invasion of Palestine, suffered any such defeat. Saladin

¹ Arab. Chron., 199.

knew it was the conquest of every town in it, not excepting its metropolis, which must all drop, one by one, quietly into his lap, like ripe fruit, their fortifications having each been taken by storm on that day, and, as it should always be, far from the habitation of innocent women and children, and the pacific population, who ought never to be exposed to a siege. After the battle, Saladin had a tent pitched, and, retiring into it, called for the king and other principal prisoners, and made Guy sit by his side, and observing him to be thirsty, had iced water brought in. The king, after drinking, presented the cup to Renaud, which made Saladin exclaim, in reference, no doubt, to the Arab custom, which obliges you to defend the life of whomever you have once given meat or drink to, "It is not by me that this scoundrel was invited to drink. I am no wise bound towards him." And recollecting that he had twice sworn to slay him (and, in fine, all that was adduced in a former page), he, sending him a look that made every one present feel terror, reproached him with his crimes, and rose, drawing his scimitar—but let us hope it was only a signal to his emirs, and that he did not himself strike the defenceless unfortunate, whose head was instantly struck off; yet Emal-eddin, an ocular witness, says

that in each case life was offered on turning Moslem, but Renaud preferred death, and the others too; so his head rolled at the king's feet, which set him trembling; but Saladin told him not to be afraid, for that his life should be spared. So was also that of the Grand Master of the Temple; certainly because to his advice the victory is to be ascribed. As to the rest of his knights and their likes, the sultan had them all beheaded. Nor his own prisoners alone; but knowing the avarice of his soldiers, and that they would conceal them for the ransom, he had it published by a regular order of the day, that he would purchase, at the rate of fifty pieces of gold each, whatever Templars or Hospitallers were brought to him, which produced two hundred of them, and they, in like manner, were slain. "For," said he, "since they like homicide so much when it favours their own religion, it is but justice to let them taste a little of it themselves." He looked upon them as at permanent war with Islam; and, in that same spirit, wrote to his lieutenant at Damascus to put to death all such knights there, whether belonging to private individuals or not, which command was executed. But, besides all slain, there were immense quantities of Christian prisoners, which reduced their price so much, that

one of them was sold for a pair of slippers.¹ A letter says, "Were we even to pass the whole remainder of our life in thanking God, it would not be enough." And another, "Here is a victory without parallel. A little part, for to tell you even the half were impossible."²

Young Thoron, who remained a captive, was afterwards, at his mother's intercession in Jerusalem, sent with her to Petra and Montreale (by the Arabs called Karak and Shaubec), which were to be his ransom; but these fortresses refused to surrender; so he was led back to his prison at Damascus, and his mother fled to Tyre, then the only town in Palestine not yet taken by Saladin.³

The rest of that Saturday, Saladin kept the field; but on Sunday marched against the citadel of Tiberias, and took it, and sent to count Tripoli his lady and child. That count had, however, died of sorrow, too persuasive proof that he was no traitor.

And Saladin advancing against Acre, it resisted only two days; and in succession, Nazareth, Caipha, Cesarea, Jaffa, Sephoria, Sebaste, Naplouse, Sidon,

¹ Arab. Chron., 200.

² Id., 200.

³ Id., 211. Note 2.

Beyrout, Ramla, Hebron, Bethlehem, Gaza, Daroum, Ascalon, and other towns, were only preparation for Jerusalem. He however wished to leave it full time; and though he spoke severely, to try to frighten the Franks, his real object was to reduce it to a quiet capitulation; for it is the holiest of cities, to Mahometans as well as Christians. Nor did he wish to defile it with blood: the less so, that it would seem like imitating the Giaours. Besides, there was, what he counted on more, the treason of the unquiet Greek within it, and Melkite Christians.¹ He expected much glory from taking the city of God; and he would be the first since Omar, who took it from the Christians; that he and Omar would be the only two that ever took it from the Christians—if on a Friday,² the greater the glory through all Islam; and that such lofty repute would be a solid recompense.³ “From Gebail to Egypt nothing along the coast, or near it, remains to the Christians, but Tyre and Jerusalem,” wrote Saladin. “So I’ll go and take the Holy City; and when it pleaseth the great God, we’ll go to Tyre!”⁴ And on the 21st of September he left the sea for the

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 286. ² Arab. Chron., 204.

³ Ibn-Alatir: 59.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 283, 288.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 204.

Mountains of Judea. On reaching the walls of Jerusalem, he employed five days in examining them;¹ next he harangued his emirs—"That if God should give them the grace to chase the enemy from the Holy house, what felicity, what gratitude we should owe Him! That, behold, the holy city has been in the hands of infidels for eighty years, during which the Creator receives but impious praise there; that the Moslem Princes had often desired to deliver it, but nevertheless this high honour was reserved for the Ayoubides, to gain them the hearts of all Mahometans. That their entire thoughts should then be directed to the conquest of Jerusalem; that there is Omar's Mosque, choicest fabric of Islam; that Jerusalem is the dwelling of the prophets, where the saints repose, which the angels of heaven visit in pilgrimage, where shall be the general resurrection and the last judgment; that it is there the elect of the Lord resort; that it contains the stone of untouched beauty, whence Mahomet ascended to Paradise; that it is there the lightning flashed, the night of mystery shone forth, and that truth beamed which has illuminated every part of the world; that one of its gates is that of mercy,

¹ Arab. Chron., 205.

and whoso entereth by that gate, is deserving of Paradise; that there is the throne of Solomon, the chapel of David, the fountain of Siloe comparable to the river of Paradise. The Temple of Jerusalem is one of the three mosques of which the Alcoran speaks. Surely God will give it to us back in a finer state, since he honoured it with a notice in his Divine book."¹

And the siege began; and was severe for a short time. All the medical men there were not sufficient for the wounded² writes an eye witness, who had himself received a sore wound then, of which he was suffering still, when he wrote years after. But in less than four days³ the citizens were driven to capitulate; and Saladin, with inward satisfaction, granted what he had offered from the first;⁴ and precisely on the first Friday of October, 1187, the Moslem standard was raised on its walls; but Saladin made his triumphal entrance several days later.⁵ Yet sixty thousand, able to bear arms, are said to have been at that time within the city.⁶

¹ Arab. Chron., 206.

² Coggleshale: 26.—Bib. Crois., i. 354.

³ Michaud seems for thirteen days: Hist., ii. 288. Note 1; but the Arab. Chron. says decidedly four; 209. Note.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 289.

⁵ Arab. Chron., 210.

⁶ Arab. Chron., 212.

More than one hundred thousand Christians, says Michaud.¹ Now then (may be well asked), could Jerusalem, in Godfrey's time, with a handful have withstood the immense forces of Islam? Most certain is, what has from the commencement been asserted, that without Gerard's knights the Latin kingdom could not have stood a week. His order was then a natural and absolutely necessary consequence of the first crusade.

END OF VOL. I.

¹ Michaud: Hist. ii. 290.

LONDON: HOPE AND CO., PRINTERS,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.



